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Introduction to the Current Issue

THIS entire issue of the *Ashland Theological Bulletin* is
devoted to the Robert Houston Smith Archaeological Collection of Ashland Theological Seminary. The story of how
the objects were gathered, their care and classification, and
of the decision to make them available to the seminary is Dr.
Robert H. Smith's own story in the first article. Professor
Delbert B. Flora picks up the account from there and reports
the coming of the collection to the seminary, its present situation there, and hopes for the future housing and use of the
artifacts.

The largest portion of the issue is devoted to a presentation of the collection itself. This appears in photographic exhibits with technical descriptions of the materials of the collection. The objects are arranged in chronological order in
groupings according to forms and types. The presentation
here is representative; it does not include the Smith Collection
in its entirety.

Credit for the bulk of the work for this issue goes to
Delbert B. Flora. This includes the collection or writing of the
articles, determination of objects to exhibit and how to arrange
them, the arrangement of the descriptive material, and oversight of the photography.

Credit and special appreciation for the photographic work
in the issue is due to Thomas H. Shiffler, Senior student at
Ashland Theological Seminary and professional photographer
for the Ashland Times-Gazette. Tom Shiffler spent hours
arranging artifacts for the best photographic exhibition,
working out optimum lighting, and caring for the technical
details that make for excellent pictures.

<div style="text-align:right">Owen H. Alderfer, Editor</div>

Contributors to this Issue

Delbert B. Flora is Professor of New Testament and Archaeology
at A. T. S.

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College of Wooster in Wooster, Ohio, and Chairman of the Humanities
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Research, Dr. Smith has been involved in extensive field work in Palestine and Jordan as participant and as director. His publications include
books and articles in the fields of archaeology, Biblical studies, and
religious studies.

Acquisition and Care of an
Archaeological Collection

Robert H. Smith

THE collection described in this Bulletin began one crisp day in the fall of 1958, soon after I arrived in Jordan to spend a year studying Palestinian archaeology at the American School of Oriental Research (now the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research) in Jerusalem. Although I had delved into archaeology as a graduate student at Yale, I had not yet dealt with Palestinian artifacts extensively at first hand. As I stepped into a dark cubbyhole on the Via Dolorosa that passed for a shop, I began my personal encounter with Palestine's ancient past. I could not have suspected then how far that acquaintance was to lead me.

I looked over an assortment of jars and bowls with mild curiosity. I grew more fascinated when, at the dealer's invitation, I picked up some of the pieces and handled them. Soon I was examining each vessel with interest. I was most attracted by a number of small moulded clay lamps which displayed a wide range of forms and decoration. When I found that most of the lamps were within a price range I could afford, I could not resist the temptation to buy a few as future teaching aids. I placed the lamps in a row and tried to decide which one or two were most representative. But the variety was too great, and I had no basis for preferring one over another. When I left I had under my arm a parcel containing not one or two but a dozen lamps, along with a few shallow bowls of various forms which were so plain that the dealer, probably despairing of finding a purchaser, had priced quite moderately; these latter I assumed had no particular archaeological importance but thought they might be useful for study.

Almost every collector begins with the chance acquisition of one or more pieces which pique his curiosity, and I was no exception. When I examined my purchases at leisure, I realized that I wanted to know as much as I could about their ages and cultural contexts. Thus I began what became many hours of searching through archaeological reports and study-

ing objects on display in Jerusalem's museums. The first identification was made only after lengthy search, but the second came a little more quickly, and the third still more rapidly. All of the lamps were from the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods, and the range of types which I had arbitrarily selected proved to be a fairly good one. As I progressed in my identifications, I found that my critical discrimination developed by leaps and bounds, so that I began to perceive interrelations among lamp types. The small group of lamps was already serving the most important single function a collection can serve—unless one considers sheer aesthetic enjoyment to be above all other benefits—and that is the function of helping a student to learn a discipline more rapidly and thoroughly than he otherwise could.

The element of excitement and joy which the process of discovery entailed was intense. Interestingly, the greatest single moment of satisfaction from this group of artifacts came in the study of one of the shallow bowls. The form had only a few diagnostic features—an incurving rim and a flattened base, rather fine clay and no remaining slip at all. At first the problem seemed to be that it somewhat resembled bowls of several periods—but only somewhat. I found good parallels in the pottery of the Middle Bronze Age but at first discounted these on the assumption that the dealer would not have sold me a bowl of such antiquity for such a modest price. In time, however, I exhausted the archaeological literature and was forced to the recognition that the bowl was indeed of Middle Bronze date, and therefore some 3,700 years old. My pleasure at having solved the problem was excelled only by my delight in the antiquity of the vessel.

This discovery represented a turning point for me. I remained respectful of antiquity, but I was no longer awed by age. No longer was I on one side of the fence and the materials of archaeology on the other; we were both on the same side now, touching and—as it were—talking with one another. I realized that, though I had a vast amount yet to learn, I could begin to trust my critical judgment in a limited way. And so it was that from the beginning the collection was intimately bound up with my own development as an archaeologist.

I have described the beginning of my collection in some detail because it illustrates a fact of archaeology, namely, that

one cannot really become knowledgeable about artifacts unless one works directly with them—looks at, handles and analyzes them—until form, weight, texture, coloration and countless subtle aspects of their very nature become an intimate part of one's store of information. It is for this reason that students of Palestinian archaeology who cannot themselves all go to Israel to learn archaeology are richly served if they can have the experience of seeing, touching and attempting to identify actual ancient artifacts. After all, a love affair can be carried on from a distance for only so long; the time must come— and the sooner the better—when the participants must get to know one another in their totality, at close range, and for prolonged periods.

A second phase in collecting comes about when the nascent collector begins to be aware of some glaring gaps in his assemblage, and seeks to fill them. Of course, there is rarely any end to such an undertaking; but the collector seldom thinks that far ahead, so deeply rooted his passion for orderliness. I went to other antiquities shops in Jerusalem and constantly found pieces that were important for my collection. My range of interest came to include more and more kinds of material remains from antiquity: coins, weapons, jewelry, cult objects . . . in short, anything of merit that shed light on ancient Palestinian life. I continued to have a particular interest in oil lamps, and made a special effort to obtain a wide range of Palestinian types of all periods. Although I decided early to restrict my purchases of artifacts largely to Palestine (with some Transjordanian pieces added for comparison), I allowed my selection of lamps to branch out to Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Cyprus, Asia Minor, North Africa and occasionally elsewhere, as subsequent travels permitted, in order that some of the cultural interconnections among the lands of the eastern Mediterranean region might be indicated.

As is always the case with collecting, one is sometimes offered items that exceed one's purse, and I regret having had to forego some fine pieces because the prices were too high. Inevitably there were also some pieces that I failed to appreciate sufficiently when they were available, and so let them pass into other hands. I recall receiving a telephone call one day from a dealer, rather prone to overenthusiasm concerning his merchandise, who informed me that he had just gotten a vessel which had a face on it. I suspected that the "face"

was nothing more than some crude, accidental lumps or scratches, and let a few days pass before I visited his shop. When I did pay him a visit, I was told that the vessel had been sold to a certain person known to me as a frequent purchaser of quality antiquities. It was not until two years later, when leafing through a popular French archaeological magazine, that I saw prominently illustrated a fine Chalcolithic bowl which was said to be a recent aquisition by a museum with which this same person was known to have had connections. The bowl did indeed have a well-defined face in relief on one side—a most unusual and museum worthy object. I have little doubt that this was the vessel which I had been offered. I was consoled in this loss, however, by the thought that even if I had obtained the bowl the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, which had to examine and approve each item that I collected before I could send it to the United States, would most surely have claimed it for the national museum of Jordan; and that would have been appropriate in a region which has lost more than its share of its patrimony to western collections.

By the end of the summer of 1959 the collection had grown to much of its ultimate size, but some additions were made during subsequent trips which I made to Jordan through 1965. By that time I had decided to bring acquisitions to a halt, even though—or, perhaps I should say, because—I knew that there would always be more specimens which I would like to obtain in order to continue to balance and enrich the collection. Furthermore, by that time the major original purpose of the collection, that of its educational benefit to me, had long been achieved. It was just as well, since in 1967 the institution where I was teaching, The College of Wooster, commenced archaeological excavations at Pella in Jordan under my direction, and I would not have wanted to be involved with the purchase of antiquities while associated with a program of field archaeology.

Even as I was bringing the acquisition of items to a close I had expectations of enjoying the collection in my home and utilizing its contents in teaching. By this time, however, the items in it numbered over 1,200, exclusive of a study group of pottery which I had earlier given to The College of Wooster, a few pieces which I had given to friends, and some small items that had gotten misplaced over the years. I eventually

was compelled to realize that to exhibit all, or even most, of the collection effectively would require a battery of display cases, something which I could not realistically provide in any home that I might live in. And so it was that I entered the final stage of the classical pattern of collecting, that of seeking a suitable permanent repository for the materials which I had assembled.

The rest of the story—how, when I informed Professor Delbert Flora about the existence of the collection and my decision to dispose of it, he alerted Dean Joseph R. Shultz and together the two men, aided by other interested faculty members, marshalled forces which ultimately brought about the purchase of the collection by Ashland College for its Theological Seminary—that story is as much Ashland's to tell as mine. All I can say is that I have enjoyed my contacts with the College immensely, and am delighted that the collection now has a permanent home in an atmosphere which is so well suited to it. I look forward with interest to the proposed construction of a building on the Seminary grounds, in one hall of which the collection can be displayed in a context related to the classroom program of the Seminary.

It is not a novel procedure for an educational institution to obtain an entire collection of works of art or archaeology to serve as the nucleus of a specialized museum or display; indeed, the great museums of the world obtained most of their antiquities in this manner, rather than through the sponsoring of excavations. Collections of Biblical antiquities have occasionally found their way into museums in this country, though these collections are generally quite small—as, for example, the Palestinian pottery on display in the Detroit Museum. Best known among the larger purchased collections of this sort are those made under the supervision of John D. Whiting, late of the American Colony in Jerusalem. Among the half-dozen or so Whiting collections are ones in the museums of Yale University and the Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary. The last of these collections, completed around the end of World War II, remained in storage at the American Colony through Israel's war of independence and for some years thereafter, until, in the spring of 1959 it was purchased by the American University of Beirut for its archaeological museum.

Now, collections of this sort often contain many pieces of beauty, and occasionally of rarity as well—features which

make them effective museum pieces. But they generally display deficiencies in their range. Their most noticeable limitation is perhaps that they consist almost entirely of pottery. Although, to be sure, pottery has been by far the commonest of Old World man's artifacts during the past several thousand years, it represents only a small part of the total culture of an ancient people. While much of that material culture has disappeared beyond all recovery, there is much more surviving than ceramics, as a visit to the Rockefeller Museum or Israel Museum in Jerusalem readily shows. Even, however, within the self-imposed limitation of pottery Biblical collections often show poor balance. Certain periods, such as Middle Bronze II and Iron I, tend to be represented in disproportionately large amounts, in part because the pottery displays well and in part because ceramics from these periods are relatively abundant. This imbalance is less serious if a museum limits its displays strictly to the Biblical periods, although even in such cases the collections are generally weak in pottery of the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman periods, all of which fall within the span of the Old and New Testaments.

The collection which I assembled had not yet achieved the sort of balance which I might ideally have hoped for it to have, but I attempted to have as many periods represented as possible. The earliest artifacts are some stone implements of Palaeolithic man and some Mesolithic beads. For various reasons, not the least of which was extreme scarcity, the collection never came to include any Neolithic pottery. There are, however, some representative vessels from the succeeding period, the Chalcolithic, which were ferretted out of dark corners of dealers' shelves, to which they had doubtless been relegated because of their unprepossessing appearance. Ghassulian Chalcolithic is represented in the collection by a selection of potsherds gathered at the site on a field trip.

The Early Bronze Age pottery in the collection was likewise assembled only with considerable effort, since for many years very little of that period came on the market in Jordan. When clandestine digging at Bab edh-Dhra' in the Lisan, beside the Dead Sea, began to yield great quantities of Early Bronze pottery, Jerusalem dealers were suddenly inundated, though only with the particular kinds of Early Bronze vessels distinctive to the Bab edh-Dhra' culture. The collection contains some representative vessels of both Bab edh-Dhra' and the more customary Early Bronze types.

The Intermediate Bronze Age (as I call it; also known as Middle Bronze I and Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze) is represented by a selection of typical vessels, including a large spouted jar which, because of its thinness of ware, was one of the very few casualties of shipment of the collection from Jordan to the United States, having arrived cracked. The artifacts of this short period in the collection are, as would be expected, mostly "caliciform" pottery, but there are also some beads and weapons.

The Middle Bronze Age is represented by some ordinary as well as fine-ware vessels with red, brown and white slip. One of the most important pieces in the entire collection is a tall, handleless jar with red slip which dates from very early in the Middle Bronze Age (Middle Bronze I or Middle Bronze II A, depending upon one's terminology). Another notable vessel is a black-slip jug with punched, paste-filled dots on its exterior, executed in the famous Tel el-Yahudiyeh style. Also of interest is a small tomb-group of pottery, some of the pieces of which still retain a thick coating of soil and calcium carbonate which was deposited as the vessels lay in a tomb of the 18th century B.C. in central Palestine.

The groups of artifacts in three of the periods just mentioned—Chalcolithic, Intermediate Bronze and Middle Bronze —are supplemented by a number of vessels or fragments of vessels from an excavation which I conducted at Khirbet Kufin in south-central Palestine in the spring of 1959. They were given to me at the conclusion of the field work by the American School of Oriental Research, one of the sponsors, and the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, the other sponsor, the latter having previously selected those artifacts from the excavation that it wished to retain for the national museum. I never regarded this material as my own personal property, and consequently am pleased that it has now found a permanent home in an educational institution. Some of the forms in this group have considerable archaeological interest, even though most of the material is fragmentary.

The Late Bronze Age, though more difficult to epitomize in a collection than is the preceding period, is represented by a number of characteristic jug forms, imported or local vessels in Cypriote style, painted bowls and jars, and jewelry. Although the pottery of this period is, on the whole, less hand-

some than that of the Middle Bronze Age, it serves as an important cultural link with the subsequent Iron Age, the transition toward which can be detected in various ways.

Iron I is likewise represented by some characteristic pieces, including nearly a dozen ceramic vessels plausibly said by the dealer to constitute a single tomb group. Typical small jugs appear in various shapes and colors. There are also some fine, rare necklaces of carnelian and other semi-precious stones. Iron II and the Persian period are more diverse in their contents; particularly so is the Persian period, the finding of artifacts from which proved (as one would expect) to be no easy task because of their scarcity and the difficulty of always being able to distinguish the artifacts of that period from ones of Iron II. Some characteristic pieces of these centuries do, however, appear in the collection.

The Hellenistic period is one in which many collections of Palestinian artifacts are quite deficient. Fortunately several representative ceramic pieces, some of them perhaps imported to Palestine but most of them presumably manufactured locally, form a part of the collection, including a rare (but once apparently common) two-handle jar. Also included are ceramic vessels having a certain kind of red slip which, in reducing atmosphere, partly fired black. By this period coins have become widespread, with the result that an important new dimension is added to archaeological data. The collection has a variety of coin types of this period, chiefly Ptolemaic and Seleucid.

The Roman period, because it includes New Testament times, was one of special interest for this collection. The period is well represented by jewelry and coins. Specimens of fine Roman pottery are quite rare in Palestine other than as potsherds, so it was necessary to obtain an example of a moulded terra sigillata bowl from southern Syria; some imported red-slip ware was discovered at infrequent intervals and was promptly added to the collection. Local ware of Roman date was obtained somewhat more readily, and it was possible to include in the collection examples of the kinds of everyday pottery which were in use in Palestine during Jesus' life. Perhaps the most interesting single Roman-period artifact in the collection is an ossuary, or bone-container, which retains its carved front and some of its original bright yellow paint.

The Byzantine period, although one of increasing population in Palestine, saw a reduction in the quantity and kind of vessels buried with the dead. Since most of the intact artifacts which come into dealer's hands come from tombs, this change of practice is reflected in the relative scarcity of certain kinds of Byzantine artifacts available. Commonest are small objects such as jewelry, lamps and miniature jars and jugs; rarest are regular-size vessels of table ware. These changing customs are reflected in the Byzantine objects in the collection, which tend to be small. Even fewer burial objects were placed in graves during the Islamic periods which succeeded the Byzantine, with the result that the collection has only a few artifacts of Islamic date. Medieval culture, which is still poorly-known archaeologically, is likewise represented by only a few artifacts.

As my earlier comments indicate the collection is richer in lamps than any other type of artifact. Although many of the lamps come from various regions of the eastern Mediterranean, the largest single group by far is from Palestine. Included are some seldom-found types, but many common lamps have intentionally been brought into the collection so that as complete a type-series as possible would be available for study. Even here some desired types did not become available during the time the collection was being formed; nevertheless, it is possible to say that the present assemblage represents a more balanced series of lamp types than do those of most collections which have been made, apart from certain collections to be found within Israel.

From the very beginning I maintained a card file on the contents of the collection. The earliest cards that I made, when collecting afforded the greatest educational value for me, were carefully typed; on the front of each four-by-six inch card I placed such general information as might be suitable for a museum catalogue or label; on the back I gave technical data, including references to archaeological parallels or other relevant literature. I must confess that as my competence in Palestinian archaeology grew, I became more lax in my descriptions and references, but I continued the basic system until the collection was finally closed. This card file has been photocopied and is now available to any serious student of the collection at Ashland, complete with all of the rather casually scrawled entries that identify the latest pieces which were

added. The printed catalogue which appears in this issue of the *Ashland Theological Bulletin*, although for lack of space it cannot be so detailed as to permit individual entry for each of the artifacts, affords the prospective user of the collection a structured arrangement of the objects, and is therefore a most welcome adjunct to the collection itself. The effort which has been put into the preparation of this catalogue is a clear indication of the measure of continuing interest which Ashland College and Ashland Theological Seminary have in the collection, and doubtless points to the time when it will play an even more integral role in the program of this Christian institution.

The Robert Houston Smith Archaeological Collection of Ashland Theological Seminary

Delbert B. Flora

Introduction

IN JUNE 1970 a letter from Dr. Robert Houston Smith, College of Wooster, brought me the news that he was ready to offer for sale his fine collection of Palestinian antiquities of about 1200 pieces. As soon as possible information was relayed to Dr. Joseph R. Shultz, Dean (now Vice President) of Ashland Theological Seminary, and Dr. Glenn L. Clayton, President of Ashland College and Seminary. An *ad hoc* committee* was formed to discuss advisability, ways and means of the purchase. The net result was that on New Year's Day 1971, Mrs. Flora and I were in the attic of the Smith home confronted with the intimidating task of wrapping and packing hundreds of artifacts. Some large pieces were already in boxes and barrels, while small pieces were in a variety of small containers. All had to be accounted for. Faculty members responded to telephone calls and brought their cars from Ashland to Wooster for transportation of the whole lot which was then stored in a room of the Seminary library.

Probably some background should be inserted here. It occurred in the course of change of administration of Ashland Theological Seminary that I was given a year's leave of absence for travel, study and archaeological experience in Palestine. Therefore, my wife and I became established at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem for the year 1963-64. During that winter we became acquainted with Dr. Smith who was associated with Dr. James B. Pritchard

*Members of the ad hoc Committee: Joseph R. Shultz, Dean of Ashland Theological Seminary, chairman; Alice Catherine Ferguson, Professor of Languages, Ashland College; Delbert B. Flora, Professor of Archaeology, Ashland Theological Seminary; Louis F. Gough, Professor of New Testament, Ashland Theological Seminary; Robert S. Kinsey, Pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church, Ashland; Harold A. Mielke, Professor of Business Administration, Ashland College.

in the first excavation at Tel es-Saidiyeh. We saw him a number of times at the American Schools of Oriental Research; in fact, we now believe we saw him in some of his activity of assembling the collection which is the subject of this article. After our return to the States the pleasant contacts continued from time to time at lectures and archaeological meetings. Perhaps this is why he said in his initial letter, "I naturally thought at once of you because of your long-standing interest in Palestinian archaeology and Ashland's concern with the world of the Bible."

During the extended stay in Jerusalem, and in previous visits, the antiquities of Bible history had become more and more fascinating and significant for me. Between field trips and some excavation, a good many visits were made to the Rockefeller Museum for study and photography of objects on display. A whole new dimension of Bible study and understanding began to appear. After considerable inquiry I was permitted to bring home a small collection of my own and to send a few pieces back to the Seminary. Therefore, Dr. Smith's offer to dispose of his collection was exciting for it opened up a great new area of possibility of service by ATS to students and the church community of Ashland. This feeling was shared by Dr. Shultz, faculty members who were available for consultation at the time of year, and by friends in the community. Consequently the purchase was planned and consummated by means of the great good will and generosity of administration, faculty and friends near and far.

Since the time of its transfer the collection has resided in the same boxes and barrels in a small archives room, although from time to time a few pieces have been dug out for a lecture or for temporary exhibit. It almost immediately became apparent that, despite Dr. Smith's meticulous cataloguing of the materials, the hurried packing and the too unorganized and crowded means of storage had made necessary a complete inventory for file and storage purposes. In the spring of 1973 this problem was laid before Dr. Shultz, and as a result of the conference the decision was made to proceed with inventory and also to make a report in the *Ashland Theological Bulletin* of 1974.

The report is meant to be informational and not technical. Moreover, as Dr. Smith has said in his article, ". . . for lack of space it cannot be so detailed as to permit individual entry

of the artifacts in the collection." Nevertheless it is intended to "afford the prospective user . . . a structural arrangement of the objects." It is hoped that within two years new space will be available for proper exhibit of the whole assemblage along with storage and laboratory space for work of restoration and conservation. It may be added parenthetically that some articles have been cleaned, but that some of the pottery is in much the same condition as when it came from the ground.

The inventory revolves around photography to complement Dr. Smith's card file. Each piece (coins excepted) is being photographed in full frame. Photographs of 4 x 5 inch size will be labelled with the original registry numbers and placed in file drawers in registry sequence. This arrangement is supplemented with inventory file sheets for correlation of photographs and negatives. Of course, rewrapping, marking and repacking follows the checking and photography.

The method of this report will be an endeavor to provide an analysis of the collection by means of categories according to various natures such as archaeological periods, type, form, material, provenance, etc. There may be some reference to a rather miscellaneous group. The archaeological periods represented include almost everything from the Palaeolithic to the Islamic, even to the divisions of the Bronze and Iron ages. Dr. Smith's dating and terminology of periods will be used as much as has been determined by study of his catalogue. Other representations include bronzes, coins, glass, jewelry, a corpus from Khirbet Kufin, lamps, seals, stone objects and weights. Attempts to indicate the numbers of items in the categories will be considerably compromised by factors such as unclear period distinctions in some cases, in others reluctance to identify dating, and again because of cross references of relationships. The categories will be illustrated by means of photographs of representative groups along with some description based on the Smith catalogue notes. The original catalogue registry numbers will be placed in the text immediately following the names of the objects. Photographs will be labelled PLATE A, PLATE B, etc., and PLATE AA, PLATE BB, etc.

Abbreviations

ASOR   — American Schools of Oriental Research
ATS   — Ashland Theological Seminary
Byz   — Byzantine
C   — Century
EB   — Early Bronze Age
EI   — Early Iron Age
IntB   — Intermediate Bronze Age
Iron I — Iron I Age
Iron II — Iron II Age
Iron III — Iron III Age
LB   — Late Bronze Age
LI   — Late Iron Age
MB   — Middle Bronze Age
MB I   — Middle Bronze I Age
MB II   — Middle Bronze II Age
MB III — Middle Bronze III Age
Pers   — Persian Age
Rom   — Roman Age

The Collection

The Palaeolithic Period, - 8000 B.C.

There are two pieces representative of this period, PLATE A, a large hand-axe (222) and a blade (257), both of flint. They are crudely worked and are of Palaeolithic type. The axe is considerably patinated on one side. They were found by Dr. Smith on the mesa south across from Qumran.

The Mesolithic Period, 8000 - 5500 B.C.

Two examples may be from this period; however since there is some doubt about one, only one is being counted at this time, and it is shown in PLATE B. These restrung beads (761) are white shells, cylindrical in shape, but tapering. They are very similar to some which were found in the Natufian remains at Mugharet el-Wad at Mt. Carmel.

Plate A

Plate B

The Neolithic Period, 5000 - 4000 B.C.

The five flints and two celts in PLATE C are good examples from this period. Dr. Smith picked up the flints (422) near the spring and pools north of ancient Jerash, Jordan. The large one at the right end of the bottom row is a "core" from which other flints have been chipped. The one at the left end seems to have been an arrowhead which was rejected before it was finished. The other flints show signs of use but were at best only improvised implements.

The two celts in the middle of the bottom row are well smoothed and are very ancient artifacts. The left one (684) is of green stone, the other (675) of black stone.

The Chalcolithic Period, 4000 - 3000 B.C.

There are seven articles from this period in the collection. Two are shown in PLATE D. The beads (762) are disc-shaped carnelian stone. They have a patination and an encrustation which is not found on later beads; also there is a lack of high polish. The rather crudely shaped bowl (790) is nevertheless of good lines. It seems to have been found on one of the Jebels of Amman, Jordan.

Additional representation of this period is shown in PLATE E. These sherds (365) and flints are a selection from a larger number which are from Teleilat Ghassul, east of the Jordan River and just north of the Dead Sea.

PLATE C

PLATE D

The Early Bronze Age, 3000 - 2100 B.C.

Forty-four numbers of the collection are accredited to the Early Bronze Age. In this list is a rather widespread variety of objects, including bowls, jars, cups, jugs, flints, maceheads, lamps, beads and necklaces. There are two tomb groups of which one is shown in PLATE F. This body of small vessels (354-364), although not turned on a wheel, is fairly well shaped. The simple forms are not at all the best that could be done by the EB potters, but they may be considered as typical of fairly humble pottery of that time.

PLATE G is a rather good representation of the different EB forms or types in the collection. The ceramics of the photo group are all of rather heavy to heavy clay. The heavy bowl or plate (714), about ten and one half inches in diameter, apparently once had buff slip. The ladle (712), having what appears to be a bird-head handle, came from Bab ed-Dhra', east of the Dead Sea. The juglet (267) is well shaped and attractive. Some pictures and bas-reliefs in Egypt portray the Pharaoh smashing heads of his enemies in battle with just such an instrument as this white limestone macehead (775) in the center of the picture. The jar (234), pitcher (434) and "canteen" (420) were made without use of the fast wheel. Ledge-handle jars are recognized as a hall-mark of the Chalcolithic and EB periods; however the neat shape of this one (upper right) will place it in the latter period.

The Intermediate Bronze Age, 2100 - 1900 B.C.

Dr. Smith defines this period as lying between the EB and MB Ages and assigns to it the absolute dating shown here. About 18 items of the collection lie within this period. They are jars, cups, sherds, scarabs, bronzes, lamps and beads. The ceramics are represented by the group in PLATE H. The large jar (225) is about 15 inches in height. It comes from the time when the shift was being made from the EB to the MB. Band combing provides decoration on the shoulder and at the base of the neck, while crimped ridges are set obliquely on opposite sides of the body. Moving clockwise, the cylindrically shaped cup (771) is from the vicinity of Hebron. It has a heavy brown slip which is a rarity in this period. The four-corner lamp (743) is a good representation of the particular form, although somewhat damaged. This kind of lamp did not long persist in use. Next, the "caliciform" jar and two cups (226-228) are taken together because they seem to have come from the same tomb, and could have come from the same potter's wheel. The ware still resembles EB ware to a considerable extent, with flat base, squat shape and rough texture. Finally, the cup (777) at the upper left has parallels with Syrian "tea-pot ware," because of its rim, ribbing, base, ware and over-all shape.
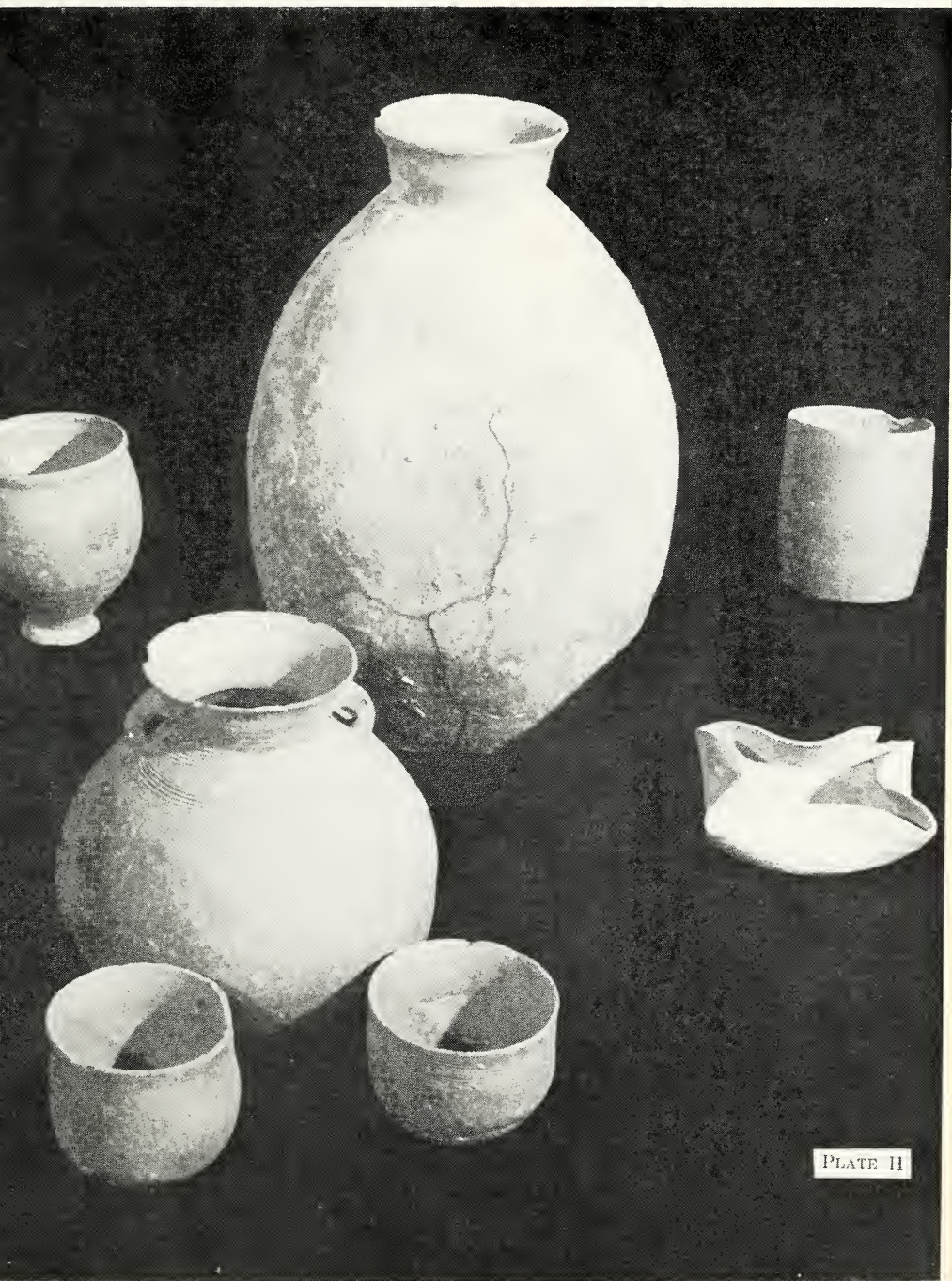
PLATE II

The Middle Bronze I Age, 1900 - 1750 B.C.

Only 13 articles are identified as coming from subdivision I of the Middle Bronze Age. These are juglets, vases, bronzes, scarabs and pots. Some of the bronzes and scarabs will appear later in this publication. In PLATE I three items of pottery are shown. The large, squat teapot (770) with a broad flat base, somewhat damaged, still bears the encrustation it had when it was removed from the tomb. Its body was shaped by hand, whereas the neck and rim were wheel made. Its provenance is between Bethlehem and Hebron. The form of the juglet (345) on the right is truly MB I: roundish body, wide at the middle, the attachment of the lower end of the handle, the ridge clear around the neck at the upper end of the handle, and the flat base. The handsome vase (219) on the left is rare. It represents a form used at the beginning of the MB age, then dropped. It has a red slip characteristic of MB I.

PLATE I

The Middle Bronze II Age, 1750 - 1500 B.C.

The number of registrations in this section rises dramatically to 85 pieces. Consequently, as may be expected, the variety of forms and types is greater and all the more interesting. Here are piriform juglets, carinated bowls and vases, footed bowls, Tel el-Yehudiyeh juglets, dipper forms, large store jars, some bronzes, beads, lamps and stone objects.

In PLATE J are nine representative articles of pottery. In the top diagonal row are three jugs, one large and two small, all with taper bottoms. The large one (290) shows the same good form that most MB ware does and so is typical. Of the next one (346) to the right, its "narrow neck, graceful form and originally fine red-brown slip show it to belong to the Middle Bronze ceramics at their height," so writes Smith on the registry card. To the right of that and lower is a jug (303) of special interest because there is a snake running up the handle. The motif may be primarily decorative, however it may also be cultic in significance. The break-away of the mouth of the vessel also took away the head of the snake. Immediately below the large jug is a beautiful footed bowl (209) of typical form for this period. The clay is a buff pink, although the vessel was originally covered with a rich white slip. Just below is a black Tel el-Yehudiyeh juglet (218) decorated with a geometric design pricked into the clay and the holes filled with white paste. Such ware is usually associated with the Hyksos and Syria may be the place of origin. Next to the right is a cylindrically shaped juglet (214) said to have come from Jerusalem. Farther right is a carinated bowl (215) with some of the original white slip preserved. Immediaetly below is a white burnished footed bowl (216), which is an unusually fine specimen of the late MB ware. We have nicknamed it the Canaanite candy dish. The last piece to the right is a bowl (352) decorated with horizontal black lines with zigzag lines between.

Two large store jars are in the MB II section. PLATE K shows a two-handle store jar (444X) which is ovoid in shape. Some restoration has been done on this vessel. It has a plain flaring rim, strong handles, and tapers to just a hint of a flat base. In PLATE L is depicted the largest piece in the collection, a handleless store jar (741) which is 30½ inches in height.

PLATE L

Representatives of an MB II tomb group (379-402) appear in PLATE M. This deposit which totaled 33 identifiable pieces and now numbers 24 in the collection, was published by Dr. Smith in the Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan 1970.[1] The deposit was found by a Jordanian farmer in 1958 in a tomb on his property on the eastern slope of the Mount of Olives. A partial collapse of the ceiling had damaged most of the vessels, shattering some of them, and a thick encrustation of calcium carbonate covered them. Of the 33 pieces Smith considered 25 sufficiently intact to warrant illustration in his article, but he described all thirty three. The forms indicate that they come from the height of MB II, and that the date would be seventeenth century B.C.

We present a photograph of six of these vessels, starting with the top row and moving left to right. First is a beautiful pedestal bowl (379) with a gracefully flaring rim. Then a bowl (398) which has no slip preserved. The two intact base-ring juglets (386, 385) are "little masterpieces of highland Palestine pottery." After these is a button-base juglet (389), on the wire stand, which still retains some of its original burnish. Last is a cylinder-shaped juglet (395) which has traces of slip and must have been originally white.
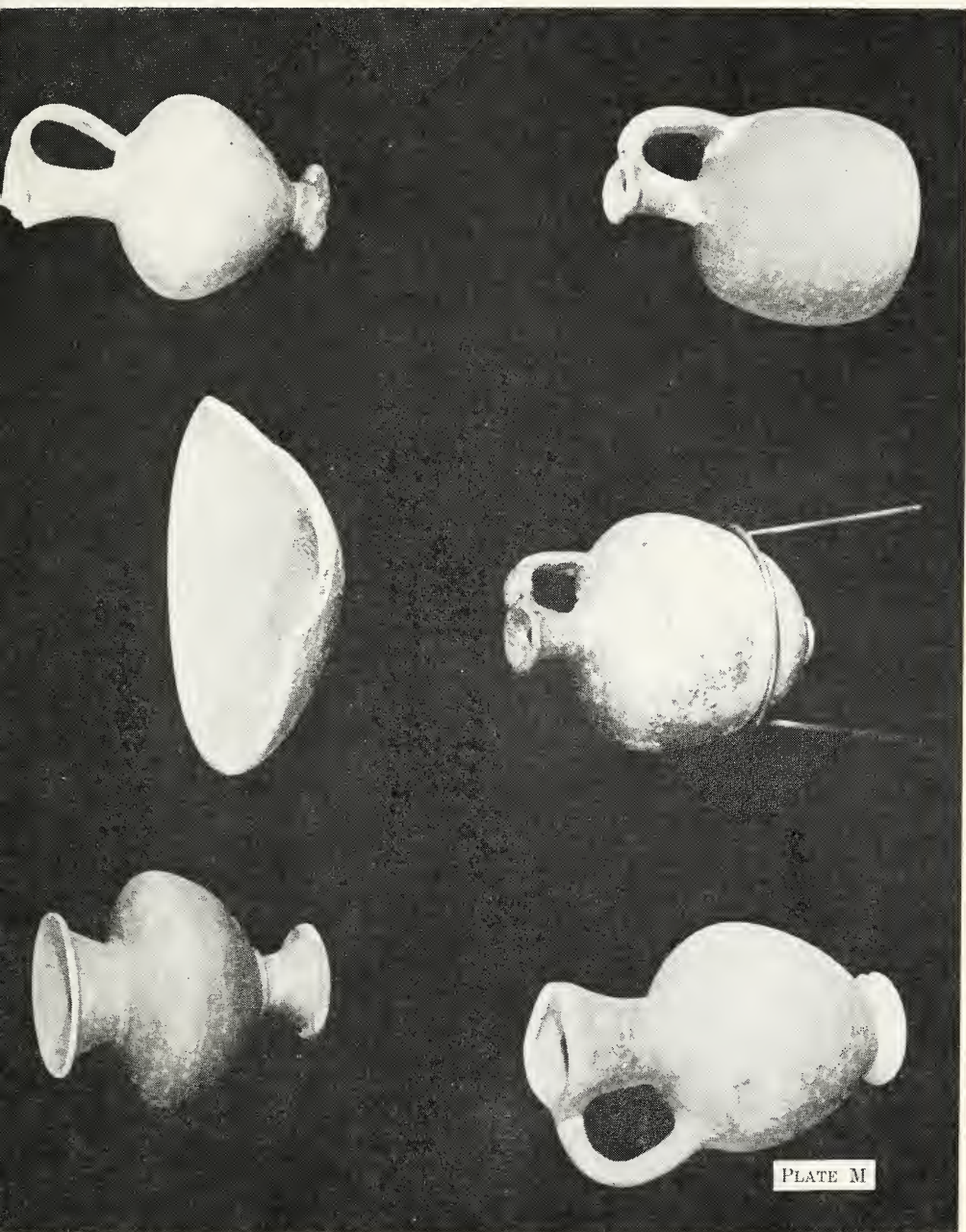
The Late Bronze Age, 1500 - 1200 B.C.

About 32 artifacts are registered in this period, without a sharply defined effort to emphasize its subdivisions. Considerable variety is to be found in this segment of the collection, such as characteristic bowls, lamps, jugs, pots, beads, figurines, bronzes and foreign types, some locally made and others imported, among them being Cypriote and Mycenaen wares. Some of the bronzes and beads will be presented later in the article.

PLATE N portrays nine vessels. The topmost one is a rather large four-handle pot (296) of buff ware, probably used for storage rather than for cooking. The disk base would not have been conducive to this use, and there is no sign of burning on the vessel. Its base indicates its capability of standing on a flat surface and the handles are of a form which suggests that the pot could be suspended from a ceiling. In the next row down, the single-handled jug (334) is described as Cypriote and is distinctive of LB in Palestine. The type seems to have come from the island of Cyprus. The body tips toward the handle because the shape of the jug descended from an early form made of leather and hollow reed. The two-handle jug (757) is most interesting in lines and retains part of its red slip. In the row of three, the bowl (332) at the left and the footed bowl (331) at the very bottom of the photograph are companion pieces. They have the same pink slip and concentric bands of red and black on the interior surfaces, and must have come from the same tomb. The pot (288) in the very center is a good example of what is called chocolate on white ware. The name derives from the fact of its cream colored slip with brown painted decoration on it. This is one of the most distinctive pottery types of the LB period. The jug (284), the farthest to the right, has several fine features preserved from the earlier period: the carinated body, the bifide handle which is attached below the rim. It has a light brown, vertically burnished slip. On the wire stand by the

scale is a simple, graceful juglet (294) which carries over a form of the MB II period with some modification, with the result that it is a well-proportioned vessel. The decorated bowl (285) to the right is a specimen of the wishbone handle milk bowl, so called because of the white slip and shape of the handle. Although this piece is classed with Mycenaen ware, it derives from Cyprus.

In PLATE O is a flat clay figurine (430) of a goddess. The clay is buff-white and very hard. Although this kind of figure is not very common, it is well known and may have come from North Syria, with its original sources lying in Mesopotamia in the fourth-third millennia B.C. It probably represents some Canaanite goddess akin to Astarte.

THE IRON I AGE, 1200 - 1000/900 B.C.

About thirty pieces comprise the Iron I Age division of the collection. These are jugs, decanters, weights, bowls, lamps, jars, bottles, beads and seals. As a part of this lot, there is a tomb group containing some very good pieces. Upon turning to PLATE P, there may be seen eight items of some variety. At the top of the photograph is a round bottom decanter (264) which has its origins in Cypriote ware bottles made, it is supposed, of leather and hollow reeds, picked up by a leather strap tied around the body and neck of the vessel. It also shows the background of fine workmanship of the better LB ware. The bowl (450) at the left end of the second row is of a simple graceful shape, with no trace of slip remaining. At the right in the same row is a very well made jug (263), with a slightly convex base. It shows its ancestry in its strap handle. In the next row of three pieces, the strainer (442) is an unusual one in that the handle is horizontal rather than vertical. The artifact is of generally fine quality, and should be dated early in the Iron Age soon after the LB. Midway of the row is a small dish (265) made of mottled green stone. The head on one side is that of the Egyptian goddess Hathor. This is probably a cosmetic dish, and likely from the region of the ancient city of Samaria. At the right end is a small bowl (457), nicely burnished. At the left in the last row is another bowl (463) of typical form without slip or burnishing. At the right in the last row is a bottle (375) of buff clay, light slip and dark banding painted around the neck and shoulder. It is unusual in its lack of a handle, for most Palestinian pottery has handles, if it is at all feasible.
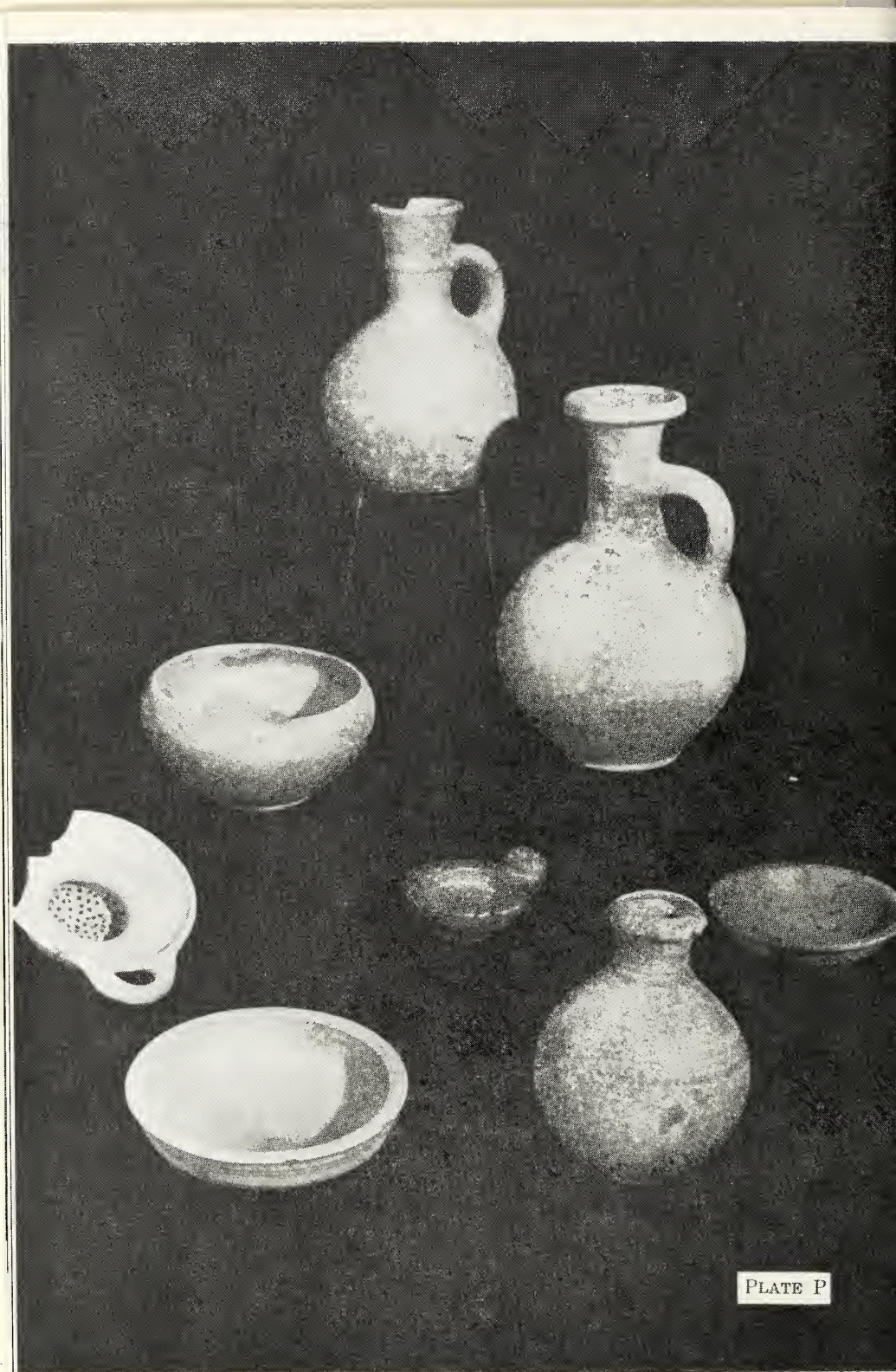
A tomb group (269-279) is shown in PLATE Q. The pottery is typically Judean and can be dated to about the eleventh century B.C. These burial deposits help us to envision the economic status of a relatively substantial member of the community. This sort of pottery would have been the kind that Saul and David were accustomed to seeing in the hill country. The most interesting is the little bowl with rows of holes punched in the side (273). It appears to be an incense burner, although this is not certain as yet. The larger jug (275), at the right end of the second row from the top, is a very well made piece, with red slip, horizontal black stripes and slightly convex base. The larger lamp (276), left in the middle row, is oversized and unusual in form, with affinities leading back to LB forms.

PLATE Q

The Iron II Age, 1000/900 - 586 B.C.

Of this period, the time of the Hebrew monarchies, there are about 47 numbers recorded in the collection. Again there is a rather broad representation of artifacts and pottery, which includes cooking ware, pitchers, jugs, chalices, an Astarte figurine, bottles, bowls, plates, lamps, decanters, bronzes, weights, cosmetic dishes, gold foil strip and an assortment of seeds, pits, charcoal and bones from a fire-bed. Some of these will be set forth later in this catalogue.

PLATES R and S help to make real the materials and period of Iron II Age. In PLATE R are nine articles. Reading downward and left to right, the largest piece is a hole mouth jar (729), about 13 inches in height. This jar is heavy and strong, but its coiling was done rather crudely. The strainer juglet (742) has a round bottom and a rather short spout. Because of this it may be related to Iron I Age, thus early in Iron II. The two-handle cooking pot (241) is of more pleasing shape than many of the Iron Age. It embodies typical elements of later Iron Age cooking pots. Passing to the middle row, the first vessel is an 8½ inch jug (242) or pitcher. It has some red slip and the bottom is bowed, somewhat convex. This type never stands flat, but tips a little. In the center is a water decanter (327), a specimen of a very typical form of the period. Water jugs of this shape were made in a variety of sizes, some containing several gallons and others only a small amount. A high-footed bowl or dish (258) completes the row. Usually called a chalice, this vessel seemed not to have been used as a drinking cup, but as some other kind of container. The row of two has a bowl (268) on the left and a small plate (261) on the right. The last object in the picture is a cosmetic dish (769) of gypsum. While it probably is of the eighth century B.C., it has a floral decoration on the sides whose motif occurs as early as about 1500-1300 B.C. in Egypt and spread widely to Assyria and Greece.
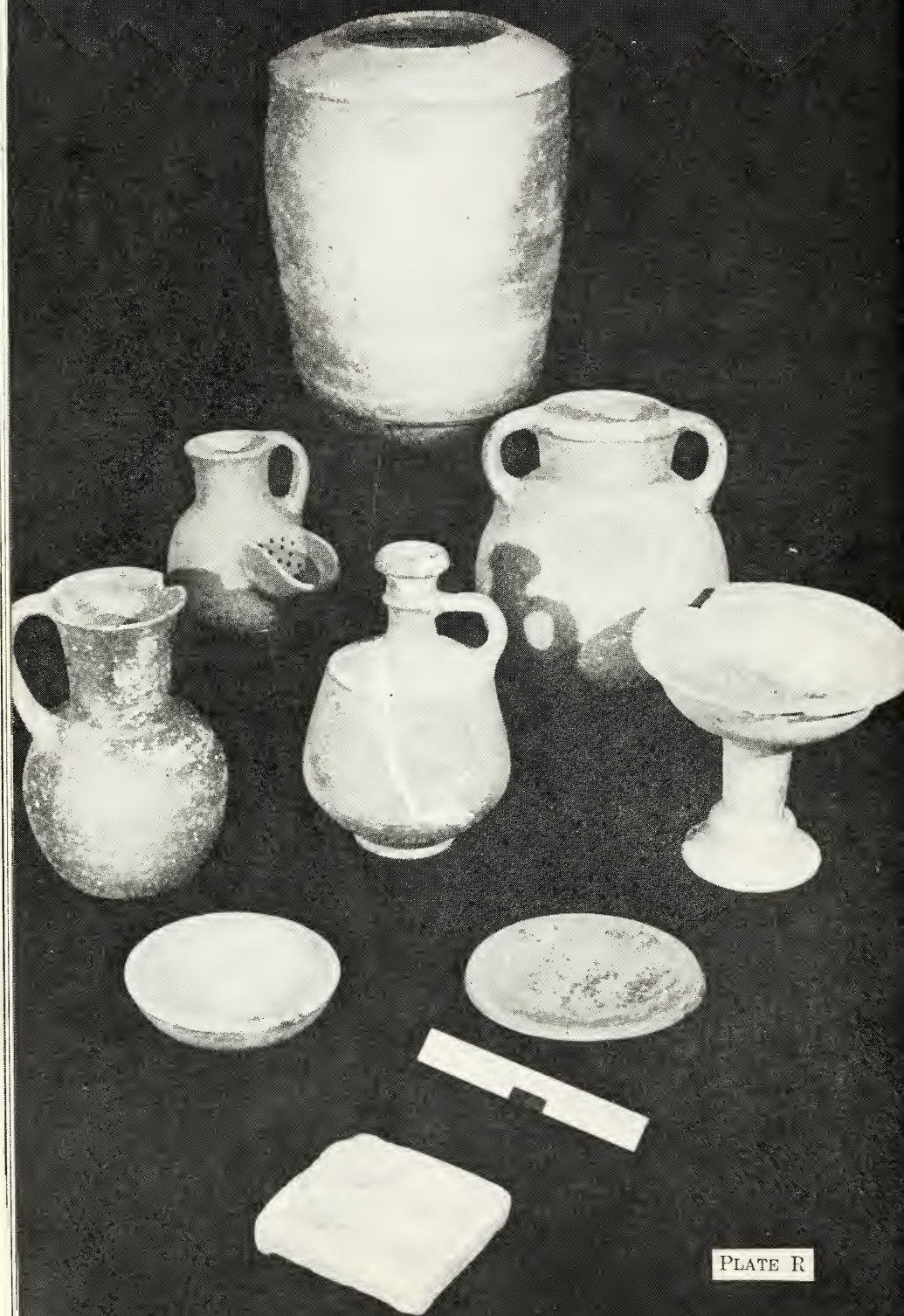
PLATE R

In PLATE S a crude and startling "Astarte" figurine (247) appears, made by hand, but the face shaped by pressing the clay into a mould, with protruding breasts supported and presented by the hands. The back is flat and unfinished thus indicating that the piece was made to stand against a wall. The figure is that of the Mother Goddess, known in Biblical times as Astarte, just the kind of figure against which the Old Testament prophets preached frequently and vigorously.

Some pieces from a tomb group are seen in PLATE T. Quoting from the registry card: "These are but some of the more interesting pieces [i.e., from the tomb]. The large red pitcher (335) follows a standard Iron Age form, but is somewhat unusual in its large size [eight inches]. The two juglets (337, 339) with two handles, the upper part of the necks missing in both cases, are a type of vessel which developed out of certain Cypriote juglets in use during the previous two centuries. Both preserve traces of black bands of paint at the top and bottom of the bulbous body." This group is from Transjordan.

The Iron III Age, Persian Period, 586 - 330 B.C.

In his introduction Dr. Smith has said that the finding of objects from this period was a difficult task "because of their scarcity and the difficulty of always being able to distinguish the artifacts of that period from ones of Iron II." Approximately fifteen articles are in the collection from this part of Intertestament times. Juglets, jugs, bottles, bronzes, seals, sherds and beads are to be found in this section. Some will appear on later pages, but PLATE U introduces us to a few numbers. Reading clockwise, a rather large piriform jug (371) appears at the top of the picture. It has heavy, drab clay and a flaring body, and is fairly typical of much of the pottery of the Late Iron Age. Such vessels were usually part of a tomb deposit. Then comes a small piriform jug (248), carefully made of fine buff clay, possibly not made in Palestine, but rather in Cyprus. At the bottom of the picture is another juglet (256) which is quite typical of the Iron Age, but the pressing of the handle close to the body calls for a Late Iron date. The next juglet (249) is a companion piece of the one diagonally across from it (248) and has the same diagonostic features. Finally the painted jug (220), called a lekythos and from Athens, is very similar to ones imported into Palestine. Its date is about the fifth century B.C.

The Hellenistic Period, 330 - 63 B.C.

Out of this second part of the Intertestament period there are approximately 23 pieces in the collection. Although it may be true that many collections of Palestinian artifacts are deficient in the Hellenistic Age, this section is relatively well represented by characteristic bottles, bowls, jugs, perfume bottles, bronzes, jewelry and lamps. The ceramics are represented by a group pictured in PLATE V. In clockwise reading, the first one at the top is a good example of spindle-bottles (251), sometimes called "fusiform unguentaria," used for precious liquids. This one belongs to about mid-second century B.C. to 63 B.C. Next, the large graceful, two-handle jar (715) plainly shows signs of its manufacture and is considered quite rare. The bowl (313) with the rather prominent base and gently curving rim and bright red slip is beautiful in both shape and color. It is an excellent piece which belongs to a date of about the first century B.C. At the bottom of the photograph is an intriguing little bowl (305), decorated with an incised net pattern. It has a rich red slip which approaches glaze in quality. The provenance is possibly coastal Syria. Continuing clockwise movement we come to a red-glaze jug (301), partly fired black. The base is a flat disc. Last is a slender-neck jug (302), referred to as a lagynos, widely used in the Hellenistic world in the second century B.C. This one probably was imported into Palestine.
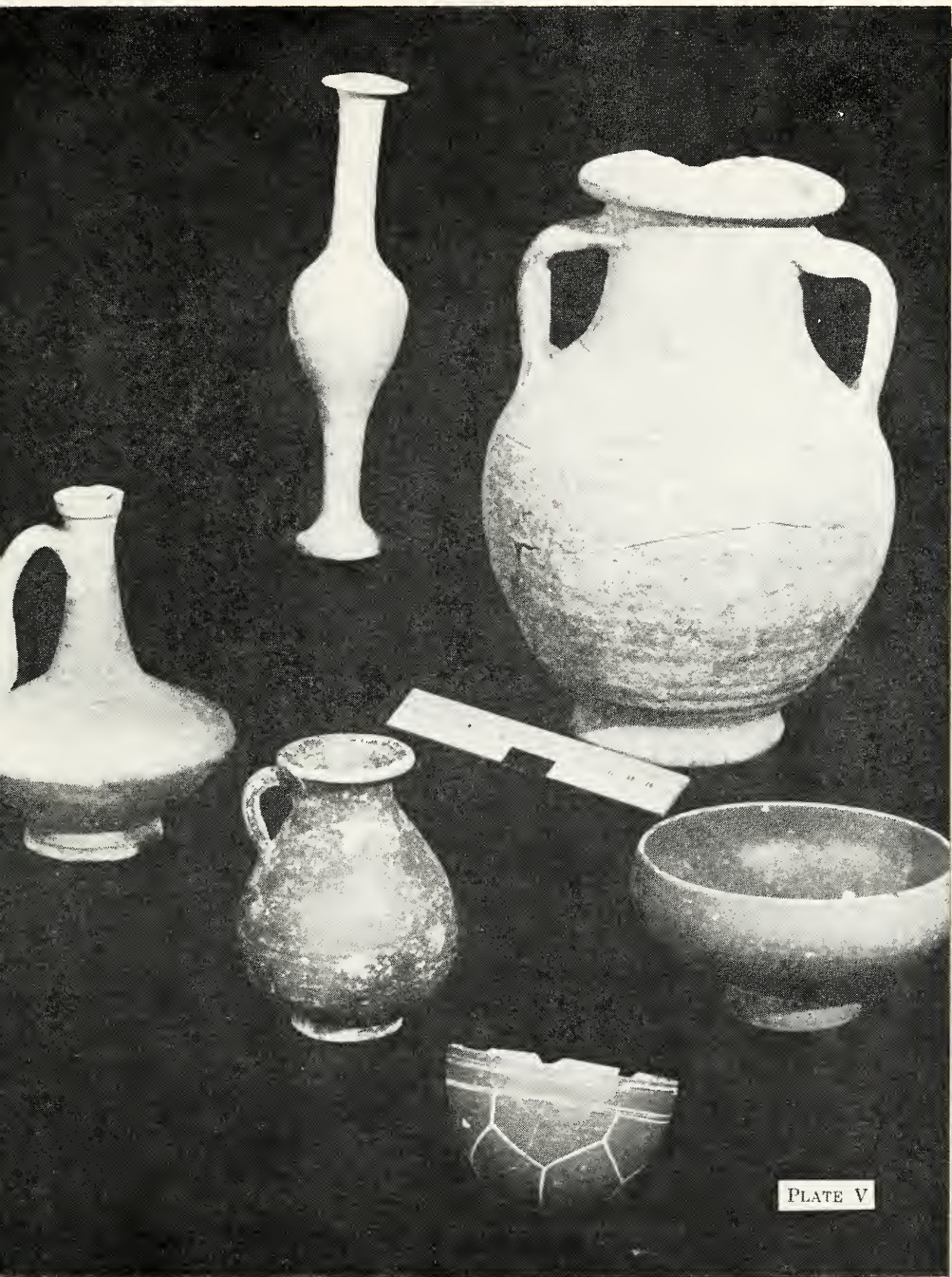
PLATE V

The Roman Period, 63 B.C. - A.D. 323

Robert Smith has said, "The Roman Period, because it includes New Testament times, was one of special interest for this collection." This section of approximately 68 pieces, containing a wide variety of objects, is clearly in harmony with the sentiment of his statement. It includes many lamps (of which only a few are counted in the 68), jugs, cooking-pots, glass, unguentaria, bronzes, bowls, sherds, a considerable amount of jewelry, made up of necklaces, gems and gold, and an ossuary.

In Plate W we begin with clockwise movement at the topmost article and note a graceful cooking-pot (306) of hard, metallic ware just right for use over an open fire. The sharply indrawn shoulder, topped by the rim and handles, would prevent spillage. A small bowl (851) is next, a good example of Roman moulded terra sigillata ware, this one from southern Syria, finished off with a hard red glaze. Following that is a jug (304) of unusual shape. The very wide mouth immediately attracts attention. This and some other features seem to indicate a descent from Hellenistic forms. Now comes a soft limestone mug (464), with sides pared. It must be a measuring cup, for a set of exactly such vessels in graduated sizes is displayed in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem and labelled as measuring cups. A rimless bottle (472) of red clay and covered with a white slip stands next to the measuring cup. It could have been used for either oil or perfume. Located at the left is a carefully manufactured plate (312) which has a thick red slip. The form has been found chiefly at Qumran. Next there are two companion pieces, a bowl (324) and a jug (325) both of fine material and good craftsmanship. They represent Roman ware in its better forms. Because the jug has a mouth wide enough, it could have been used for cooking, if desired. Upon going to the center of the picture, two articles are noted, the left one a very light-weight clay unguentarium (466) which belongs to the first century A.D., and a piriform bottle (481).

PLATE W

It is apropos to quote from Dr. Smith's introduction again at this point: "Perhaps the most interesting single Roman-period artifact in the collection is an ossuary, a bone-container, which retains its carved front and some of its original bright yellow paint." This ossuary (756) appears in PLATE X. It was found at a point where Kidron valley and the road to Bethlehem cross (pre-1967). It can be dated to about 30 B.C. - A.D. 70, thus fairly contemporary with Jesus. From one block of soft white limestone the manufacturer(s) carved a nicely finished product, on which someone later scratched Greek letters in the upper right corner of the front which seem to read AKTE. Apparently the receptacle was once used for a collector of human bones, for three teeth are still embedded in the mineral deposit in the bottom.
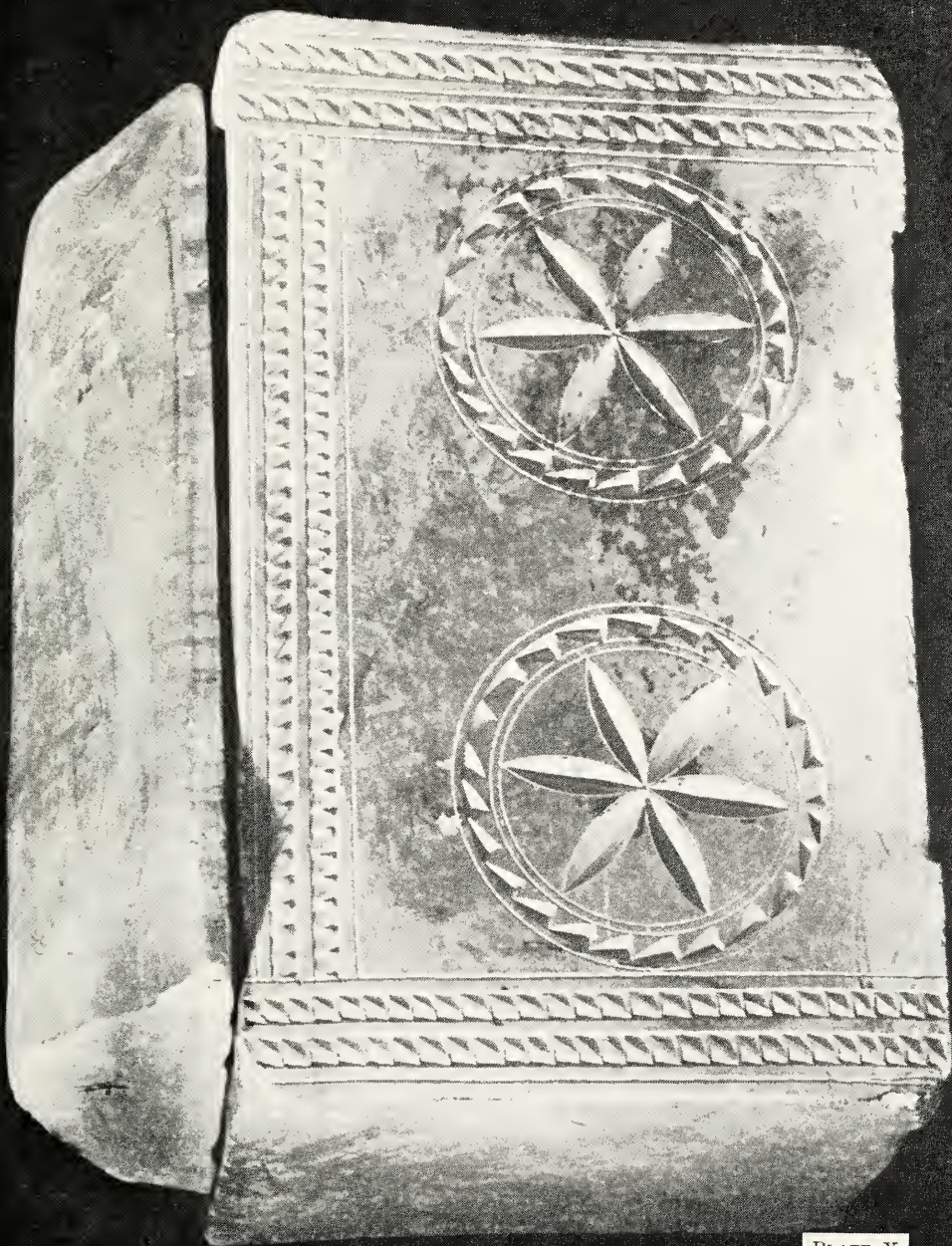
PLATE X

The Byzantine Period, A.D. 323 - 636

Although the Byzantine Period was a time of growing population in Palestine, it was also a time of a smaller number and poorer quality of funerary deposits; nevertheless the collection numbers about 47 articles for this time. Some changes in symbolism are noticeable, the Cross and Chi-Rho motifs beginning to appear and develop. The catalogue shows bronzes, lamps, jugs, glass, pitchers, bottles, a reliquary, gems, jewelry, weights, amulets and sherds. Some lamps, bronzes and jewelry will appear farther along in this article.

We turn to PLATE Y and continue the clockwise direction of inspection. First is a rosetted jar (326), mostly red in color. This seems to be an unusual type of vessel, the form suggesting Roman influence, but the mould-formed rosettes lead to Byzantine dating. Large white grits and mica are in the clay. The little marble reliquary (372) once contained some kind of Christian relics, and possibly was deposited in a wall or the floor of a church. It looks much like a minature sarcophagus. Next to the reliquary stands a graceful little vase (317), thin-walled and with indented sides. Left of that are several fragments of a fine colored flcor mosaic (711). They illustrate the rich color and fine detail which characterized the better mosaics of the Byzantine period. These fragments have come from the western slope of the Mount of Olives, where there were many monasteries during Byzantine prosperity. A graceful ornate juglet (474) has unusual spiral work around the neck. Farther up and last is another juglet (315) with a shape which shows Roman origins, and carries a little more grace than most Byzantine forms. It is to be dated early in the Byzantine or late in the Roman period.

The Islamic - Medieval Period, A.D. 636—

As the number of burial deposits declined during Byzantine times, even fewer such deposits were made during the Islamic periods. Medieval culture is not yet well known archaeologically in Palestine; therefore there are only a few representations in the collection from these periods, numbering about six articles of definite dating. There are several rather nondescript pieces which can hardly be given serious consideration at the present. PLATE Z shows several pieces. Again moving with the sweep of the clock, the one at the top is a jug (411) from about the ninth-tenth century. It has moulded upon it an inscription in very ornate Arabic calligraphy which has been translated to read, "Drink in the air [or: love?] after having a rest, if you please." Then comes a rather cumbersome and graceless lamp (930) from Iran, of about the twelfth-thirteenth century. A very small bronze lamp (899), with hinged cover, also comes from Iran. Farther to the left is a painted jug (369), which is characteristic of a class of ware which was in use in Palestine during the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. It has an ochre clay body and geometric decoration in a purple tone. This piece is distinctively Arabic, although it may overlap the Crusader period. One more article is shown, a bowl (368) which carries ribbing characteristic of Byzantine ware. There are very horizontal handles which could easily be broken off. The dating is early Islamic, of about seventh-eighth century.

A fairly good supply of sherds composes a part of the collection and out of this little bundles and bags find their way into the classroom from time to time for firsthand examination by students and instructor alike. The archaeological periods are represented as follows: Chalcolithic, Ghassul (365) and Djiflik (412). EB, Jericho (433), just a few. IntB, Kufin (373). MB, Kufin (443), two sherds, and Kufin (658). LB, Tel es-Saidiyeh (330). Iron and Persian, El Jib (734). Roman, Ain Feshka (416) and Qumran (423). Nabatean (665), miscellaneous. Byzantine, El Jib (737).

Besides the sherds there are several broken and fragmentary vessels sufficiently complete for restoration.

UNDATED OBJECTS

Occasionally a registry card does not propose to place the article in any recognizable archaeological period, nor to discuss the probable date. A very few times I may have been disposed to classify the piece on what appeared to be obvious features, but felt that this should be done at a more propitious time for examination and study. All of this points up the fact of opportunities for work with this excellent collection.

There are approximately 65 articles in the section, representing a great deal of archaeological chronology as well as types and forms. Just a few pieces will be named: an alabaster bottle (210), moulded oil flasks (408, 409), small weights (489-495), a red striped jar from Bab ed-Dhra' (657), a bone spatula (682), an agate intaglio (698), a collection of arrowheads and blades (some surgical) of bronze and iron (699-709), a bronze vessel with cone-shaped lid (732), a jug with high loop handle (758), a large two-handle bag-shaped store jar 759), and bone pendants (773, 774). Besides these there are bowls, jewelry, beads, flints and stones.

Analysis of the collection quickly discloses several orders of common properties other than the chronological relationships. Classification is attempted along such lines as type, form, material and provenance, with the realization that only some of the more obvious categories could be set out. An alphabetical order will be followed. As approximate numbers are proposed for each grouping it must be kept clear that this count is a duplication of previous counts, and also that the numbers are not exact.

BRONZES

Omitting lamps, of which there are several, about 67 articles constitute the collection of bronzes, which are of various archaeological datings. In addition to the lamps there are pitchers, toggle pins, blades, swords, daggers, arrowheads, ornaments, weights, mirrors, cups (censers?), bowls and some unidentified pieces.

Two photographs of bronzes are presented. PLATE AA shows six articles. The toggle pin (695) at the top of the picture is one of a group of four, of the EB-MB Age, which seem to be Byblos types. Next downward is a "duck bill" axe head (643), somewhat damaged. It is of the MB, and, although it comes from the Antioch, Turkey, area, it is like those found in Palestine whose presence there may be due to the Hyksos. The third item is a fine spear point (641) which is somewhat unusual because of its thick, very square haft between the cutting edges and the tang. The general date is that of MB. Our fine bronze sword (824) is in surprisingly good condition, although the handle inlay is gone. The weapon is assigned to the LB because of similar blades from that time in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. The cast-bronze figurine (435) is 3¾ inches tall. Its provenance may be coastal Syria and its date that of LB II. The headdress, pointed cap and full length garment seem derived from Hittite origins. The last object is an adze blade (691) from the Early Iron Age. Because of its particular shape it probably was not used as a weapon, rather "a workman's blade for splitting wood, chopping, trimming, etc."

PLATE AA

Seven bronze articles appear in PLATE BB. Taking them by rows, the first one in the top row is a bracelet (633), one of a group of four which were found with Iron II pottery. Without this fact it would be very difficult to assign a correct date. To the right is a lamp (43) which has volutes joined by a double bar. There are affinities with spatulate lamps and so this one is assigned the date of the second half of the first century A.D. The large round piece is a rare mirror (323), 8¼ inches in diameter, which has intricate incised decoration. The workmanship and the firm metal would seem Roman. The date: 1st-3rd C. A.D. Right from the mirror is a bowl (733) complete with handle, of a type known from the Roman period. Another lamp (850) is first in the next row, executed in the style and ornamentation of clay lamps of about A.D. 50-150. The pitcher (300) resembles the form of many Roman vessels, but probably comes from the early Byzantine period, about the fourth century. Then, finally, another lamp (615) of late Byzantine to early Arab shape, about fifth to seventh century.

Coins

The impressive listing of coins, numbering about 292, objectively calls to mind the panorama of history in Palestine from Alexander, the Great, to the Crusaders. Only a few of the names which are inscribed on these coins can be mentioned to illustrate the perspective. Alexander, the Great, has already been named, then come the Ptolemies of Egypt, the Seleucids of Syria with Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, as one of the memorable persons in Jewish history of Intertestament times. The Maccabeans and Hasmoneans are there, with Alexander Jannaeus as one example. Of the Roman emperors there is a rather large tabulation of whom Nero, Titus, Hadrian and Constantine, the Great, are among those who bear some importance in the history of Palestine. The Procurators under Roman emperors are represented by Valerius Gratus, Pontius Pilatus and Antonius Felix. There are Jewish coins of Herod Agrippa I, the First Revolt and the Second Revolt. Then come Byzantine coins, many of them, Arab-Byzantine of Greek type, the Ummayid Dynasty and some Crusader names. Their major metals are copper, bronze, silver and gold; of the last only two.

Two plates will lay before us the obverses of 18 of these coins, in rows reading to right and top to bottom. In PLATE CC are the following: Alexander, the Great, (938), 336-323 B.C.; Antiochus IV, Epiphanes (951), 175-164 B.C.; Diocletian (997), A.D. 284-305; Constantine I, the Great (1015), A.D. 306-337; Julian, the Apostate (1040), A.D. 355-363; Anastasius I (1052), A.D. 491-518; Justinian I (1058), A.D. 527-565; Hadrian (1102), A.D. 117-138; under Tiberius, Pontius Pilatus (1122), A.D. 26-36.

PLATE DD has the following: Under Nero, Antonius Felix (1127), A.D. 52-60; Second Jewish Revolt (1133), A.D. 132-135; Nero (1151), A.D. 54-68; Vespasian (1151a), A.D. 69-79; Philip I, the Arab (1156), A.D. 244-249; Valentinianus I (1184), A.D. 364-375; since this coin is gold, its authenticity cannot be guaranteed; First Jewish Revolt (1185), A.D. 66-70; an exact copy of an original; Herod Agrippa I (1190), A.D. 37-44; Mohammed Tugleg (1200), 8th C. A.D.
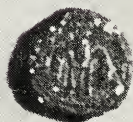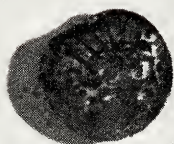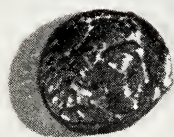
PLATE CC
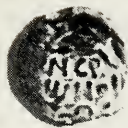
Ancient glass is a fascinating study in itself, and the several pieces which were successfully transported from Palestine to the States to be a part of this collection enhance it all the more. Although glass must have been manufactured in considerable quantities, especially in Byzantine times, it may not have been used in funerary deposits as commonly as ceramics, moreover it was quite fragile and often it survived only in fragments.

PLATE EE shows the glass segment. The large vase (314), at the top, has a Byzantine flaring mouth which distinguishes it from the earlier Roman period. Next in the diagonal row is a squat-shaped bottle (310) of very thin glass. After being hand-blown the bottom of the vessel was pressed in and the body was decorated with nine vertical indentations. Next stands a bottle (320) of a shape assumed to have contained perfume, the long neck preventing spillage. The shape is familiar at the beginning of the Christian era, probably the first century A.D. At the left end of the second row stands a very small bottle (308). The lop-sided shape, especially of the mouth, suggests a rather early date, probably in the first century also. The spindle-shaped bottle (309) is of a type that was popular in the Roman period. Its rounded bottom may suggest that it was a funerary piece, meant to be stuck in the ground beside the coffin. Numbers 308-310 were found in the same tomb. The tiny vial (822), at the right, is Roman and tinted light blue, a very beautiful little vessel. The double unguentarium (720), next right, while Roman was made by means of a technique in use centuries before. Heated strands of glass were wrapped around rods, the glass flattened and smoothed and the rods removed. The large Byzantine bottle (333) may have had a neck and mouth like 314. The glass is surprisingly thin. At bottom left is a double kohl-bottle (321). In contrast to the other double bottle, this one was blown and then decorated with strands of glass. It was used for mascara and was found in a tomb complete with its bronze application stick.
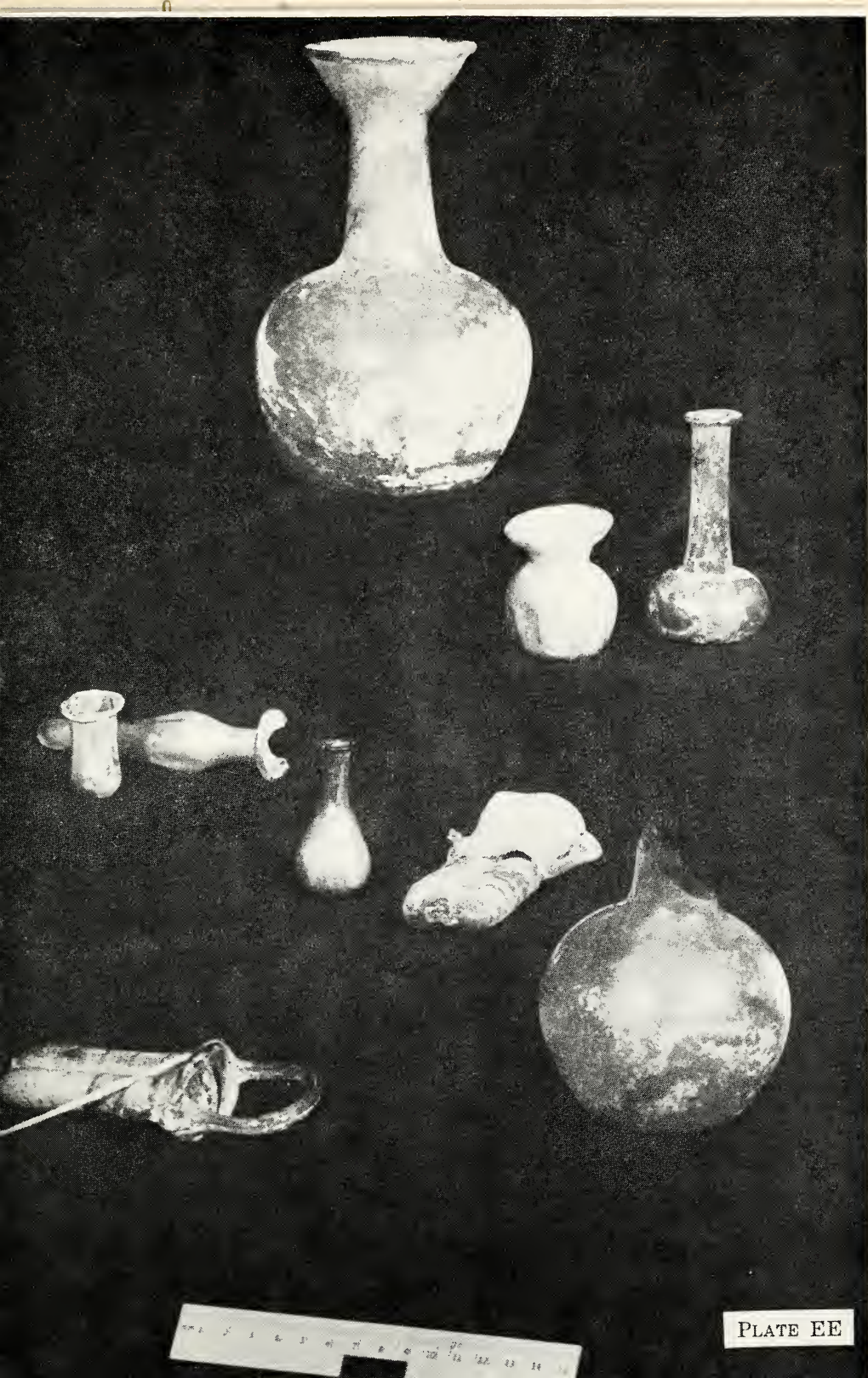
GEMS, JEWELRY AND ORNAMENTS

The age old desire for ornamentation of the person has made a considerable contribution to the richness of this collection, for about 68 articles may be classed as gems, jewelry or ornaments, exclusive of toggle pins, scarabs and seals, bracelets and anklets. The count must be considered approximate because of overlapping in classifications. Mesolithic taper-shell beads (761) have already been shown in PLATE B, and a Chalcolithic necklace of disc-shaped carnelian beads (762) is in PLATE D. From then on examples have come from almost every archaeological age to the Byzantine period. Three plates of jewelry are presented showing views of necklaces, and Roman and Byzantine jewelry.

PLATE FF has nine restrung necklaces of several periods. The reading is the usual left to right and top to bottom. 1. Chalcolithic beads (762), previously referred to but included here to round out the exhibit. 2. Orange-brown EB (421), from the Bad ed-Dhra' cemetery just above the tongue of land that extends westward into the Dead Sea. 3. A multitude of white bone beads (848), of IntB. 4. Smooth, almost black garnets (812), of MB. 5. A composite necklace of carnelian stone and blue glass (403), dated to LB. The largest ones are double-pierced. 6. A very attractive strand (404), of EI, assembled from single carnelian beads, all from one locale. The pendants in the form of lotus pods show Egyptian influence. Only the rich could avail themselves of such workmanship and materials and beads of this sort were found in royal tombs at Megiddo. 7. Assorted agates (855), probably from several periods, about 6th-3rd C. B.C. 8. Fluted faience (760), blue-green in color, from the Roman period of Pompeiian date. 9. Assorted Byzantine beads (802).
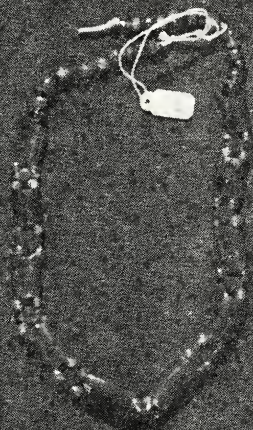
PLATE FF

A few articles of Roman jewelry are in PLATE GG. 819 is a gold earring with a garnet set and a carnelian pendant. 830 a pair of earrings of gold and garnets. 833, a finger ring of gold with stone of garnet. 835, earring with gold pendant and garnet stones. The fine work suggests a Roman date, although the style may seem Byzantine. 838, large earring of gold with agate beads. 856, three blue faience amulet-beads from a larger assortment.

Some Byzantine pieces are represented in PLATE HH. 919, a silver finger ring with an intaglio bezel of white-gray onyx-like material. 800, a simple, large, somewhat chipped amethyst bead. 831, nose or ear pendant. The fine granular work would point to a Roman date, although the overall design strongly suggests Byzantine. 832, earring and chain. 811, assorted chevron-beads, both pierced and unpierced, from a larger group. They bear resemblances to some of the Persian period, but eye-beads in association with them may suggest a Byzantine date (cf. PLATE FF 802).

PLATE GG

PLATE HH
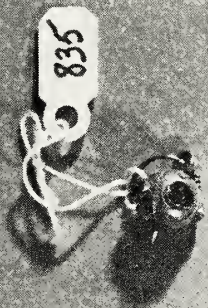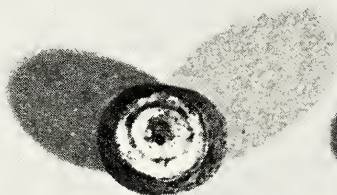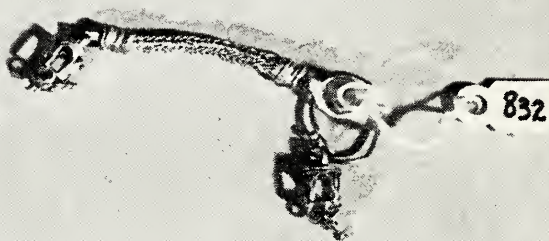
A quotation from Smith's monograph, *Excavations in the Cemetery at Khirbet Kufin,* introduces us to this section.

> In recent years the Palestinian (now Jordanian) village of Beit Ummar has been the source of a small but persistent flow of antiquities. Being curious about the area, I accepted in December, 1958, the invitation of a friend in Jerusalem to examine the locale. A short time later we visited the village and were taken to a nearby hill, identified as Khirbet Kufin [about seven miles north of Hebron], where we were shown a number of ancient tombs cut into the hillside. From these, the villagers said, had come many antiquities. . . . The number and quality of the tombs were such that some exploratory excavation at the site seemed desirable. . . .[2]

A joint project of the American School of Oriental Research of Jerusalem and the Department of Antiquities of Jordan was carried forward in the spring of 1959. Smith's report appeared as the first in a series of archaeological monographs, published by Mr. H. Dunscombe Colt in 1962.

Thirty-four of the articles which were recovered are in the collection now being described, and many of them are pictured, or drawn and discussed in the monograph. They are given this kind of archaeological distribution: one in Chalcolithic; two in EB; two in IntB; twenty eight in MB II; and one in LB.

By turning to Plate II, nine articles are seen, to be referred to by row and left to right. At the very top is a large jug (376) of buff ware from MB II. The first in the next row is a small jar (445) of coarse ware of EB dating. A broken out part of the body was cleaned and shows a dull brick-red on the surface. The balance of the vessel is heavily encrusted. Next to the right is a limestone mortar (232), also from EB. To the right and a little above is a jug (440) of a light brown color, from MB II. The next row begins with a bronze axe blade (659) which is MB II. The dagger blade (647) is bronze and MB II in age. Three square rivets which attached the handle were recovered. Last in the row is a buff bowl (342), carinated in shape and of MB II. A unique jug (500) is at lower left, decorated with an irregular band of punched dots around the shoulder and running up each side of the handle. Its date is also MB II. In last place is a small IntB jar (447), badly damaged.
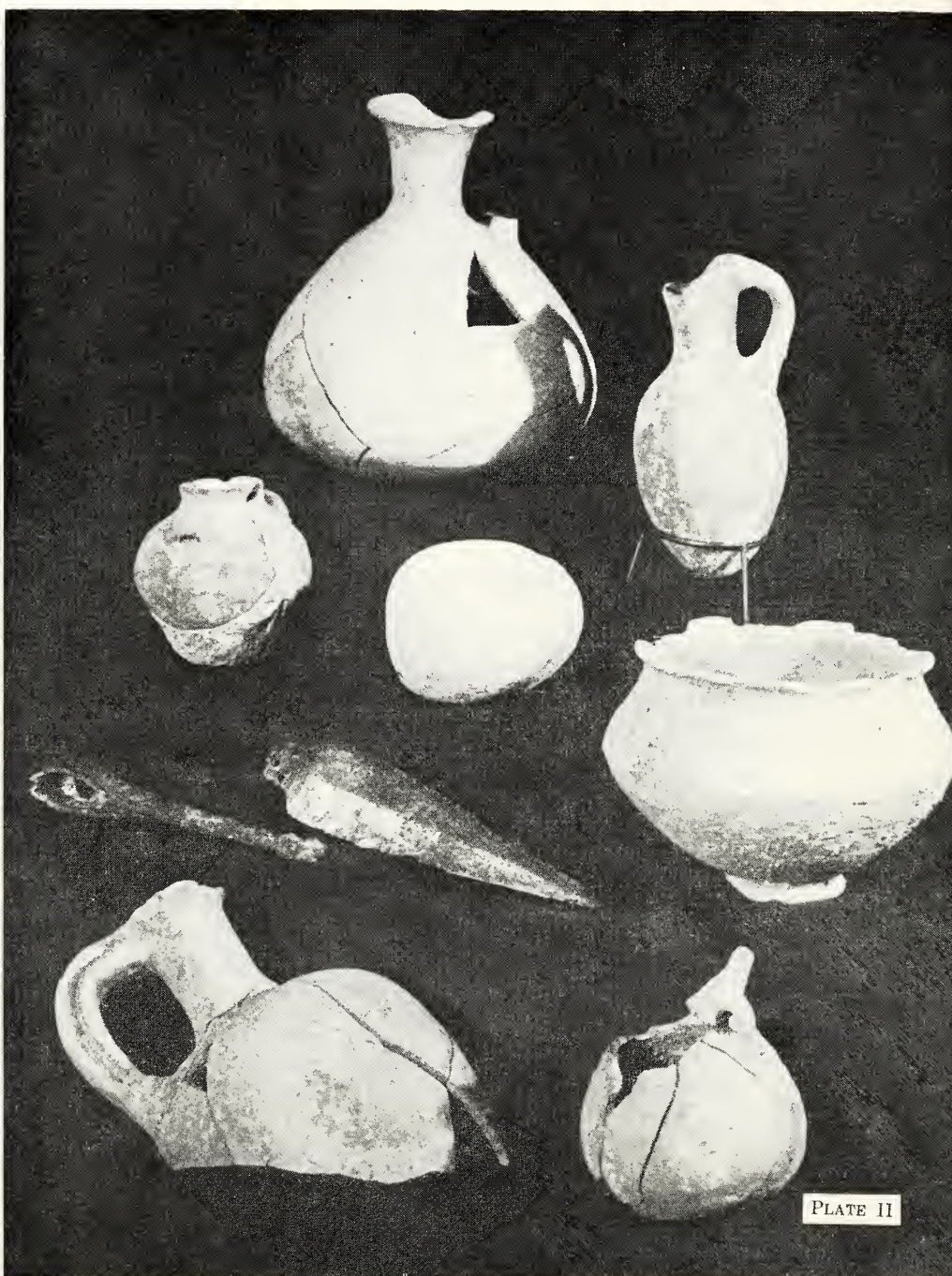
PLATE II

Some knowledgable persons have commented in warm terms on the body of lamps in the collection, and the author of this article, who has handled them all, would agree with their assessment to the fullest; nevertheless, it seems best to allow Dr. Smith's own remarks in his introduction to open this discussion.

> In quoting some of the salient features of the collection, I have said little about oil lamps. As my earlier comments indicate, however, the collection is richer in lamps than any other type of artifact. Although many of the lamps come from various regions of the eastern Mediterranean, the largest single group by far is from Palestine. Included are some seldom-found types, but many common lamps have intentionally been brought into the collection so that as complete a type-series as possible would be available for study. Even here some desired types did not become available during the time the collection was being formed; nevertheless, it is possible to say that the present assemblage represents a more balanced series of lamp types than do those of most collections which have been made, apart from certain much larger collections to be found within Israel.

All of the archaeological periods, with the possible exception of LB, are represented in the total of about 413 vessels. From the earlier periods they are relatively few, as may be expected, but late in the Hellenistic Age the number begins to increase so that the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine lamps predominate, and then the number diminishes on into the Islamic and later periods. The forms range from the simple shell or flat cup (or saucer) to multispouted and highly ornamented moulded types, including some specimens of bronze. Smith's several articles in *Berytus* and *The Biblical Archaeologist*[3] quite completely describe the types he brought together, and in some instances his discussion relates to individual lamps of the collection.

PLATES JJ and KK bring together examples of various archaeological ages and some specimens of special interest. Again the items of survey will be numbered, left to right and top to bottom.

PLATE JJ: 1. A simple saucer lamp (748), with round bottom and four very slight pinches in the rim. It is probably from the end of EB and the antecedent of the IntB four-spout lamp. 2. A four-spout lamp (743), sometimes called four-corner, from the IntB. 3. A round bottom saucer lamp (744), whose rim is pinched together to form a trough to keep the wick in place. From MB II. 4. A round bottom lamp (278), from EI period. The rim flares almost to a flange. 5. A familiar MI type (282), with very heavy base and high sides. 6. A wheel-made lamp (26), of very hard and heavy clay. Typologically it is pre-Hellenistic, and of Late Iron/Persian times. 7. From 2nd C. B.C. (3), of very hard clay, with string-cut base. 8. From about 2nd C. B.C., a "Maccabean" or "cornucopia" lamp (9). 9. A good example of the "Herodian" type (15), from first half of 1st C. A.D.

PLATE KK: 1. An "Augustan" factory-made lamp (39), of buff clay. Very similar specimens come from other parts of the Roman empire. About the middle of 1st C. A.D. 2. An example from the Byzantine/Christian period (200), from 4th or 5th C. A.D. A rare design is on the shoulder, composed of a Greek inscription which must be held up to a mirror to be read, and then the word "blessing" can be seen. 3. An Islamic lamp (157), from the 11th-12th C. A.D. Ornamented with birds and a floral design. 4. From about 3rd C. and later a moulded lamp (84), which may be considered Jewish because, along with other ornamentation, a knobbed menorah and a pair of fire shovels can be seen on the nozzle-bridge. 5. From Petra a Roman lamp (280), which has a well-moulded horse and chariot design on the discus. 6. A large and heavy lamp (37), which has seven spouts and a palmate handle, probably of Egyptian manufacture. It is not assigned to a specific date. 7. Of the next lamp (33) the catalogue card says, "This lamp clearly developed out of the Greek wheel-turned lamp. Its affinities are with the large and handsome wheel-turned lamps of Qumran (in use 31 B.C. and doubtless earlier). Hence a I century B.C. date is correct. A very rare lamp." 8. A large lamp (630), 10⅜ inches in length, from Greece, bearing black and red glaze. No date is assigned. 9. Finally a lamp from Cairo (526). The bottom is shown because of the stamp, STROBILII, indicating that it comes from a well-known lamp-maker who worked in the Roman style.
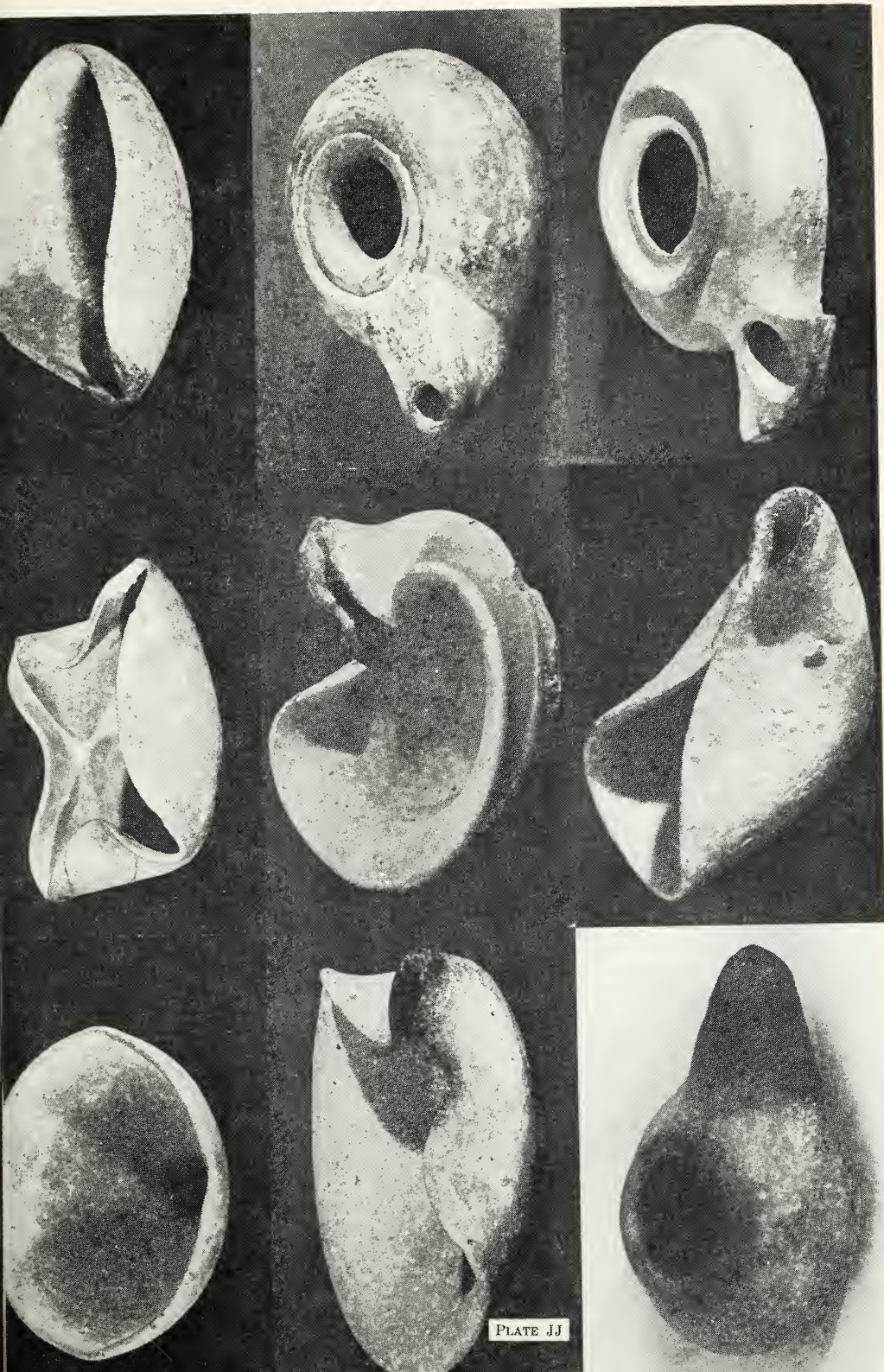
PLATE KK
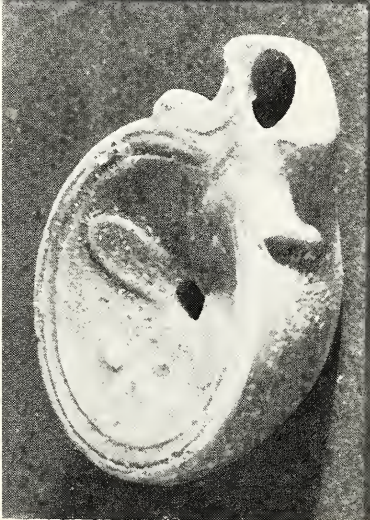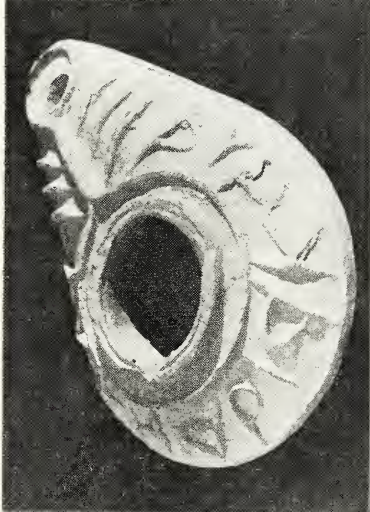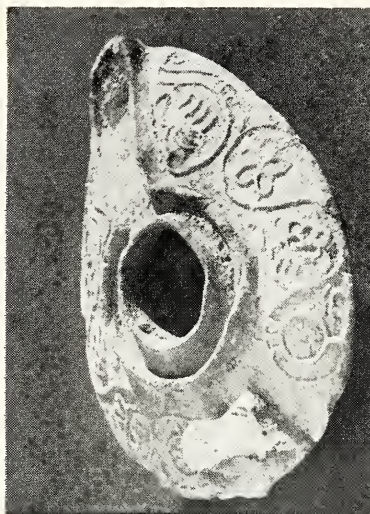
These most interesting reminiscences of names, life styles and personalities of the ancient past have good, although limited representation. There are twelve, of which six are scarabs, two are conoids and four are scaraboids, with dates assigned to ten of them in the MB I-II, MB II, LB, EI, LI and Persian periods, while two are undated.

Nine seals may be inspected in PLATE LL by numbering left to right and top to bottom. 1. Mottled gray steatite scarab (669). Two uraei facing inward, both wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, and above the solar disk with pendant wings. MB I-IIa (Dynasty XII, 20th-19th C. B.C.). 2. Scarab (670) of dark stone, turning light. The scene is that of Horus and Seth reconciled, both having falcon heads and triangular loin cloths, plus other symbols. MB II (Hyksos, 17th C. B.C.). 3. Scarab (672), showing an animal-headed deity holding a long rectangular shield in his left hand. MB II (Hyksos, 1750-1500 B.C.). 4. White steatite scarab (673). An S-shaped scroll occupies the center of interest on this scarab, with other designs around the sides of the base. MB II (Hyksos, 17th C. B.C.). 5. White steatite scarab (668). It depicts the body of a lion with a man's head, wearing a wig, with a skirt across the front legs. This composite beast wears the uraeus on the forehead and has a false beard, while beneath is the recumbant figure of a man. LB (Dynasties XVIII-XIX, 1580-1200 B.C.). 6. Conoid seal (639) of dark stone, pierced for suspension, with a simple fish design incised on its face. EI (1200-900 B.C.). 7. Moulded blue glass scaraboid seal (667). A bird, possibly an eagle, is attacking a horned animal from the rear. A crescent is above. LI (575-330 B.C.). 8. Conoid seal (677), of the Persian period. 9. Moulded black glass scaraboid (678), of the Persian period also.

PLATE LL

STONE ARTIFACTS

The articles of stone well illustrate the fact that the use of this material for household and personal use was not limited to the stone ages. The 23 (approximate) pieces are of considerable variety including flints, celts, axe, mace heads, pommel, pendants, cosmetic dishes, petroglyph, spinning whorls, measuring cup, ossuary, quern, and polisher not counting weights and seals. They run in size as that of the quern, about 10¾ inches, to a tiny Hebrew weight which cannot cover a dime. Their dates lie in the Paleolithic, Mesolithic, Chalcolithic, EB, MB II, Iron I and II, Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods.

A petroglyph (281) merits description although it has not been photographed. The glyph is a rude drawing of an ibex done with five straight lines representing the body and legs, and two curved lines representing the horns which are made to stretch back almost to the tail. This specimen is from Petra and probably of Nabatean times.

Some representative pieces of stone artifacts which were brought into the collection are shown in PLATE MM. At the top is a saddle-shaped quern (299), mentioned above, which is not assigned to any date. At the left end of the first row is a polisher (298), likewise without date. These were acquired at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem from overstocks. Right of the polisher is a black macehead (739), probably from EB. The round object farther right is a limestone dagger pommel (432). This type of pommel has been dated to the MB II - LB I periods. At the end of the row is a pendant (640), of black stone, polished, incised with straight lines in a simple geometric pattern, and pierced for suspension. Its provenance is ancient Samaria or nearby. Its date: probably MB. Standing below 298 is another pendant (638), also of black stone and pierced, probably to be worn as part of a necklace. Probably from the EI period. Below and to the right is a flint sling ball (462) frcm Tel en-Nasbeh, of Early or Middle Iron date. Likewise from the Iron Age are the two spindle whorls (653). Sometimes such objects were used as loom weights. Last, at lower right is a beautiful white limestone cosmetic palette (829) cf Iron II.

Weights

Several balance weights of stone and metal are reminders of trade centers and market places of ancient Palestine, and speak of the felt need for accurate and just standards in the business world and daily life of the times. The heterogeneity of this small section is illustrated by a mixed group of seven (489-495), and by the Plate NN. Of the numbers 489-495, apparently of bronze, some seem to be Hellenistic, some Byzantine and others Arabic in their chronology. They range from 20.5 grams to 3 grams in weight, and differ considerably in shape.

Plate NN shows six quite diverse weights, and a U.S. nickle for scale comparison. They are numbered left to right and top to bottom. 1. The largest one (266), of hard black stone, well polished, seems quite rare. It weighs 147 grams, and may be considered a one-quarter mina. The shape is known in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Palestine. The date: Iron Age (1200-575 B.C.). 2. A dome-shaped hematite weight (689), weighing 5 grams, i.e., one half a *neseph*, the "light" shekel. Iron Age (1200-575 B.C.). 3. A high domed hematite specimen (690), 8 grams in weight, about 2/3 of a shekel, and probably a *pim* (cf. I Samuel 13: 19-21). The sides show numerous and irregular facetings which may be the result of grinding and polishing the stone down to the standard weight. Iron Age (1200-575 B.C.). 4. A large hematite weight (768) of the Iron Age (1200-575 B.C.). 5. A bronze weight (664) of the Byzantine Age (4th-7th C. A.D.). The cross probably indicated that the user was dealing honestly "by the cross." The other symbols designate the Byzantine ounce. This one weights 25.5 grams. 6. A monogrammed weight (710), no date proposed.
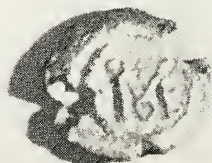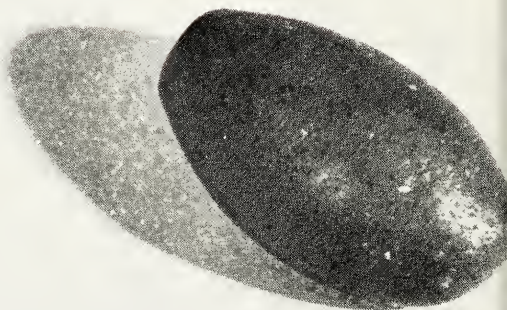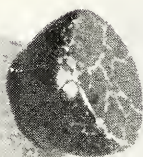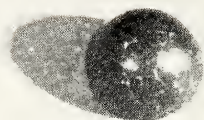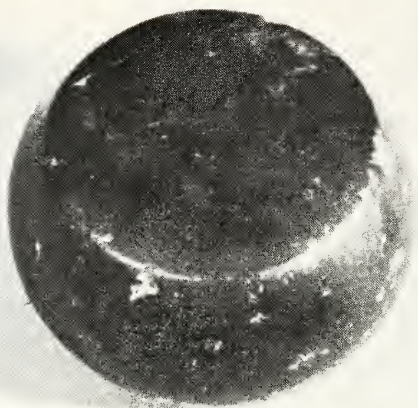
Surely it is inevitable that any attempt to classify the items in such a collection must arrive at the ubiquitous division called "miscellaneous." Under this head there are some 25 or more registry numbers, the objects being of such nature that they seem, for the present, to stand somewhat alone, waiting for further work in organizing the whole body of materials. Beyond the few I shall list are such pieces as some terra cotta forms, objects of bone, faience, stone and shell; and some good duplications of a cuneiform tablet, lamps and Egyptian funerary figurines for illustrative use.

Twelve are listed here: 1. A piece of tile (483), bearing a "wheel" or "rosette" motif. Byzantine period. 2. An ostrich egg (498), in fragments. An MB II funerary deposit at Khirbet Kufin. 3. A wooden comb (656), from Judean caves of the time of Bar Kochba, A.D. 132-135. 4. A fragment of a Hebrew brick (718), from ancient Shechem, about 1200-900 B.C. 5. An assortment of Byzantine tomb objects (726), including nails, bracelets, bells, cylindrical containers, and some kind of botanical remains. 6. Gold foil pieces (842-845), probably Iron II, possibly Iron I, or even Early Bronze. The pieces seem to have been used for placing on various parts of a human body at burial, such as forehead, eyes, mouth and breasts, although this is not really certain. 7. Several pieces of very thin gold, or foil (849), of the Roman period. These may have been attached to the clothing of the dead. 8. Three fragments of bitumen (900), from an LB II burial at Tel es-Saidiyeh. They carry the imprint of the clothing in which and around which the bitumen was poured. 9. A piece of ivory (901), which was part of a cosmetic box. No date. 10. A stamped jar handle (904), probably from Ephesus. No date. 11 and 12. Two metal khol bottles (931, 932), of the Turkish period, 1517-1917. Number 931 has a mirror and text, and number 932 is decorated with flowers made of metal.

Now the description of this particular body of more than 1200 artifacts from the Biblical world comes to a close. Technical it is not, but informational it is meant to be. The photographs and data provide a good idea of what kind and quality of source materials are here available for research and teaching aids. For Robert Smith the major original purpose was that of educational benefit. He stressed the importance of

working with, looking at and handling artifacts in order that they may become an intimate part of one's store of information. Such experiences with these ancient reminders of the lives, customs and beliefs of people who once lived in the Land of the Bible certainly will enrich the understanding and feeling for Biblical accounts and characters. "Handle . . . and see" is an injunction of Jesus in reference to the need for sensory perception. What can happen to people, old and young, when they can inspect a jar and realize that one like it may have been used in Abraham's "kitchen"; or touch a necklace with the understanding that Michal, the daughter of Saul, could have worn one much like it when she became the wife of David? Or what may be the emotion of someone upon realizing that the lamp being examined is the kind Jesus had in mind when he said that no one lights a lamp and then places it under a bushel?

We see an opportunity to take up the original purpose of this rich assemblage and even to extend it. Firm plans now laid should make possible the establishment of a modest Biblical museum at Ashland Theological Seminary within the next two years, God willing! Besides lighted cases in a pleasant atmosphere, there are to be lecture space, seminar/reading tables, and rooms for storage and conservation. The welcome sign will be out for scholars, students, and friends of the church community.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Robert Houston Smith, "A Middle Bronze II Tomb from the Vicinity of Jerusalem," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan,* XV (1970), 17-20, 2 pages of plates.

[2]*Idem, Excavations in the Cemetery at Khirbet Kufin, Palestine,* with a foreword by W. F. Albright (London: Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., 1962), p. v.

[3]*Idem,* "The Herodian Lamps of Palestine: Types and Dates," *Berytus,* XIV (1961), 2-31. Also a series of three articles: "The Household lamps of Palestine in Old Testament Times," *The Biblical Archaeologist,* XXVII, No. 1 (1964), 2-31; "The Household Lamps of Palestine in Intertestament Times," *ibid.,* XXVII, No. 4 (1964), 101-124; "The Household Lamps of Palestine in New Testament Times," *ibid.,* XXIX, No. 1 (1966), 2-27.

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ASHLAND THEOLOGICAL BULLETIN

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Introduction to the Current Issue

THIS issue of the *Ashland Theological Bulletin* brings together the results of research completed for the Brethren Writers Conference which convened at Ashland Theological Seminary, Ashland, Ohio, April 19 and 20, 1974. The theme of the conference was "The Brethren—1785 to 1860."

The conference and its theme were inspired in part out of the Brethren Conference at Broadway, Virginia, a year earlier. That conference pointed to new information forthcoming relative to "The Wilderness Period" of Brethren history. This conference brought together considerable specific data from the period.

Ashland Theological Seminary was honored to host this gathering of scholar-writers who came representing six Brethren fellowships. The Seminary appreciates the opportunity to make the fruits of the conference available to those interested in Brethren history.

Contributors to this Issue

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A Study of Brethren Historiography

Donald F. Durnbaugh

VERY little attention has been given to Brethren historiogra-
phy—the study of the ways in which the history has been
written of the lineal and spiritual descendants of the first eight
at Schwarzenau/Eder in 1708. This is not too surprising when
we recall that it was only two generations ago that the first surge
of Brethren history writing began. In the three years bracketing
the turn of the century, M. G. Falkenstein, and H. R. Holsinger
brought out their pioneer histories of the Brethren (evidently
with some feeling of competition. In 1906 John Gillin produced
the first sociological investigation of the Brethren. Two years
later John S. Flory released his study of early Brethren literary
activity. The same year saw issuance of the handsomely-manu-
factured volume of the bicentennial addresses of the Annual
Conference of the newly-named Church of the Brethren. The
latter volume serves as a capstone of the foundational elements
of Brethren historiography. Later writers such as Otho Winger,
S. Z. Sharp, J. E. Miller, J. M. Kimmel and others built on their
findings.[1]

There had of course been earlier articles and biographies
published in the periodical literature and almanacs. The two men
in the latter half of the nineteenth century best qualified to write
the history of the Brethren found themselves incapacitated to
finish the task, despite their evident immersion in the topic.
Henry Kurtz found the pressure of editorial work and the ab-
sence of original documents inhibiting; Abraham Harley Cassel
was too sensitive to his lack of formal educational background
and literary training to undertake the task; moreover in later
life his capacities failed. This led Brumbaugh to write the poig-
nant lines: "Alas! Life-long devotion has dulled his ear and
dimmed his eye. He cannot do the work."[2]

A full study of Brethren historiography would be both
fascinating and instructive. That exceeds the possibilities of this
paper. Rather, the intent here is to analyze the received inter-
pretative scheme of Brethren history which has long dominated

the narrative scene. Its groundwork was laid by the writers mentioned earlier. The interpretation has been further expanded and polished by writers of more recent times. Such excellent works as Auburn Boyers' study of Brethren education and Albert T. Ronk's history reflect this basic understanding, with certain modification. A few exceptions to the regnant interpretation have been published—such as J. M. Kimmel's *Chronicles of the (Old German Baptist) Brethren* with simple division at the time of the schism—but they have not been widely accepted by other writers.[3]

The focus of this now-traditional approach is to divide Brethren history—like ancient Gaul—into three parts. With minor differences in nomenclature and chronology they are: 1) a period of early or colonial history (from 1708 to the Revolutionary War) ; 2) a period of eclipse or wilderness (from the Revolutionary War to 1850) ; and 3) a period of recovery or renaissance (from 1850 to the present). Floyd Mallott described the tripartite division as follows: "It has been customary to outline Brethren history as a *colonial period* from the beginning in 1708 to the confiscation of Christopher Sauer's printing press in the Revolutionary days of 1778; a *western-migration or wilderness period* from 1778 to 1851, when Henry Kurtz launched the *Gospel Visitor;* and a *period of revived activity and progress* from 1851 to 1918 . . . or some more recent date." Mallott was one of the first to point out some of the problems with this interpretation. The middle period for which Brethren "generally have been apologetic" was also the time when "major work" was performed in "planting the church geographically," a point to which we shall return. In addition he believed that "Brethren have been too ready to accept the designation *progress* for the last period" and suggested that time will tell if these changes "add up to progress."[4]

For our purpose we want to cencentrate on the ways in which the first two periods have been considered. Our thesis may be rather simply expressed. The commonly-accepted picture of high Brethren achievement during the colonial period has been overstated; the picture of Brethren stagnation in the "wilderness period" has been equally overstated. It is necessary to develop a different interpretation of Brethren history which would allow a more closely integrated pattern of development. The past belief that the Brethren experienced a colonial golden age, which was shattered by the Revolution and followed by a dark age, from which nadir the church experienced a return and revival—will no longer do.

A few lines from Otho Winger's concise study of Brethren life (one of the more restrained narratives) will introduce the discussion:

> [W]e have seen that the founders of the Church of the Brethren were intelligent men, some of them college-trained. They were strong preachers and leaders. They brought from Europe a great love for learning. No colonial press was more productive of works of learning than that of the Sowers at Germantown. Christopher Sower, Jr., who had been educated under good private teachers, became the leading person in organizing and directing the Germantown academy. A select school was supported by the Brethren at Germantown. . . . During the first half of the nineteenth century secondary and higher education did not meet with much favor in the Church of the Brethren. The misfortune of some of the church leaders during the Revolution, the failure of the great printing business conducted by the Brethren, and the spread of the church far into the frontier wilderness, all had influence, not only to cause the Brethren to lose interest in, but even to arouse a position antagonism to, higher education.[5]

Martin G. Brumbaugh used his considerable powers of eloquence to provide more specific detail to the panorama painted by Winger.

> From the outset, the church was in the forefront of all religious progress. Its members, more than any other, taught religion to the German pioneers of Colonial America. . . . [T]he church enjoyed the unique distinction of contributing more leadership to religious progress than any other equal group before the Revolutionary War. . . . They not only lived a fitting testimony to the faith they expressed but they put forth unequaled enterprise in spreading their doctrines to the remotest pioneer's cabin home. Wherever the German language was used, from Rhode Island to Georgia, they were known and respected. Alexander Mack was a great scholar, and his profound knowledge of the Bible and the knowledge his Brethren shared with him are of such commanding influence that they joined with others in producing the memorable Bible with far-reaching commentary data known as the Berleburg Bible published from 1726 to 1742; and his youngest son, Alexander Mack, Bishop of the mother Church in Germantown, wrote more important religious guidance than any other leader of American colonial thought.[6]

S. Z. Sharp explained the noteworthy achievements of the early Brethren as the result of their instruction by European scholars. "It is a matter of supreme satisfaction to know that the men who wielded so great an influence over the minds of our early church members were not ignorant enthusiasts like Boehme and Fox, but men of education, who had their minds trained in some of the best universities in Europe and some of them were themselves instructors in universities." Among these stalwarts were Arndt, De labadie, Penn, Felbinger, Spener, Arnold, and Hochmann. This being the case, Sharp found it

appropriate to claim the "first school of formal teaching established by the Brethren" as the gathering of the first eight at Schwarzenau "where the Bible was the textbook and the Holy Spirit gave instruction."[7]

The key elements which could be summarized from these and comparable descriptions are these: an early leadership of intelligence and advanced training; a remarkable record of educational and cultural contribution in the colonies, including the first known Sunday school (antedating Robert Raikes initiative by many years), the first German press, the first religious magazine, major involvement in educational institutions, the first bibles in a European language.

Yet, these notable achievements of church were blasted by the impact of the Revolutionary War. With the destruction of the Sauer press and the threat of military service or oaths of allegiance, Brethren were driven into cultural and geographical isolation in the backwaters of the frontier. The progressive thrust of the colonial church was lost, giving way to narrowness, ignorance, and deprivation.

The effect on the church was one of complete transformation. In Flory's words: "It has lost its breadth of vision. It has lost aggressiveness. It has lost the cultural atmosphere that formerly surrounded it. And it has attained a plebeian commonplaceness that has robbed it of its former stateliness and dignity. . . . The church was ossifying, crystallizing into a fixed order. An unchanging, unyielding rigidity was encrusting the church in all phases of its life. Any change was deplored." For Ronk, it was an age of silence; for Gillin, a "great hiatus." The voice of the Brethren had been stilled.[8]

For this reason little literary activity could be expected and little found. "During the first half of the nineteenth century, therefore, there was almost nothing of a literary nature produced by our people" (Flory). Granted that there were some able preachers and a large measure of firmness of faith preserved, the overall impression was one of gloom waiting for the "dawn of a bright new day" with Kurtz and his periodicals. Holsinger likewise found that the "Tunkers lost their reputation for intelligence during the early years of the nineteenth century. They were not only indifferent to their privileges, but stood in opposition to all educational accomplishments beyond that of ability to read the Bible." S. Z. Sharp maintained that "the lack of an educated ministry had much to do in retarding the establishment of high schools and colleges by members of the Church of the Brethren in this period. The ministers of the

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church who had received a liberal education in Germany were now all dead."[9]

Recent writers such as Boyers and Demond Bittinger accepted this general picture of the wilderness period but found that some educational concern was continued, located in the families and congregations. The problem was largely one of communication, owing to the destruction of the Sauer press, the diaspora on the frontier, and the language problem (the shift from German to English). Given these difficulties the Brethren did well in perpetuating their faith, but still fell from their high state of accomplishment of the pre-Revolutionary era.[10]

This has been a brief, but it is hoped, fair summary of the accepted view of Brethren history from the beginnings until the mid-nineteenth century. Unfortunately there are serious problems with this approach. It contains errors and distortions which should be corrected if we are to gain a more balanced understanding. Some misperceptions can be traced to a lack of historical data; others, as we shall later attempt to show, seem to have arisen out of the perspective and attitudes of those doing the writing.

In the first place, it has been clear for some time that the Brethren were not products of European universities, nor were they in direct contact with university figures. The one exception is that of E. C. Hochmann von Hochenau who indeed left a promising university career; when the Brethren-to-be came into contact with him he was engaged in the hazardous life of an itinerant preacher. There is evidence in Brethren writings of exposure to the writings of Arnold, Felbinger and others. Some classical and patristic citations, thought by Sharp to prove Mack's advanced education, were taken from a compilation by Mehrning on the baptismal question. Certainly the Brethren sought information in "trustworthy histories" as well as in the scriptures, which makes likely the possession of a modest degree of learning. The early judgment of Flory about Sauer I holds true for the Brethren: "He has been credited with a university education and with graduation from a medical college. But such statements unsupported by evidence, of course count for little; and the fact that the evidence has not been produced is a pretty clear indication that it does not exist. . . . He doubtless received such education as the schools of his native town provided. . . . But that he acquired more than the rudiments in early life is highly improbable. Nowhere have I found in his writings the mark of scholarship. He was distinctly a self-made man."[11] Those who have read extensively in the writings of the early Brethren would agree with this picture; they reveal the sim-

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plicity and earnestness of relatively untutored men, rather than the tortured complexity of the scholarship of their day. Many of us would say that their style is the better for it.

It has not been sufficiently noted that the thesis of outstanding cultural contribution in the colonial period rests largely on the claim that the first Christopher Sauer was a member of the Brethren. In fact, most historians have been content with discussing the Sauer family with little attention to other personalities. The reasoning runs something like this: the Sauer press demonstrated high achievement and registered many innovations; Sauer was a member of the Brethren; therefore, the Brethren rank high in cultural activity. Often the claim is made that Sauer made his decision to enter publishing at a love feast of the Brethren, and therefore the accomplishments of the press should be credited to the Brethren. This was Brumbaugh's word picture:

> May we not pause to think of this love feast? German printing for America born at a love feast of the Brethren church! The holy men of God so impressed at this early day (1738) with the need of additional aid to evangelize America call the congregation to a holy communion, and in the spirit of the most sacred service of the church the petition is sent to God and the need is pressed upon Christopher Sower. He goes from this meeting of the church of the Brethren and lo! the German press in America begins its mulifarious work![12]

There are two fatal errors in Brumbaugh's conclusion. This love feast was held at the Ephrata Community, not among the Brethren; and Sauer did not accept the offer to become the Community's printer. This is especially significant because this incident is often cited as proof that Sauer was Brethren. Because of their practice of closed communion, if he were present at a Brethren love feast he must be a member. It is clear from contemporary evidence that Sauer never was a part of the Brethren fellowship, although he was warmly sympathetic to many of their concerns. He was a religious separatist, and therefore, adverse to any religious organization.[13]

There is another problem with the claims upon the Sauer press in relation to Brethren history. The press was purely a private enterprise. This remained the case under the ownership of Christopher Sauer II who was indeed a member and leader of Brethren affiliation. In no way can the products of the Germantown press be equated with that of a denominational press in the modern sense. Any reader of the Sauer newspaper or almanacs is aware of the non-sectarian quality of their content. The ethical values of Sauer II which he shared with the Brethren certainly are expressed, but it is an individual (albeit important) contribution, not a corporate one. That the brotherhood was

concerned is demonstrated by the church discipline they brought upon Sauer for printing a German Reformed catechism. But the point was that they were concerned about the reputation for honesty of their brother (in making public a teaching which favored infant baptism and swearing of oaths among other things) and not that they were taking official responsibility for a denominational press. This stance was carried over into the nineteenth century when early and hesitant approval was given to the Kurtz publications because it was a private venture.

Brethren attitudes toward education seem to be mixed. It is true that Sauer II and other Brethren were involved in major ways with the founding of the well-known Germantown academy. The first sentence of a history of the school stated: "The Germantown Academy was born of that alliance of German Sectarian and British Friend that has given Pennsylvania so much that is worthy and substantial."[14] We also have the record of the select school established in the Germantown parsonage. But there are few records of other Brethren concern for schooling. Given their dependence upon the scriptures it is probable that they were eager to provide enough schooling to make possible the reading of the bible. It would be consistent with what is known otherwise if the Brethren favored what is now known as elementary education while frowning on higher education. While the radical Pietists from which they came were educational advocates in some ways, they were also highly critical of the contemporary patterns of university life with its pride, worldliness, and affectations. Sauer I liked to refer to men with degrees as "Doc-Tor" ("Tor" meaning fool in German).

Among the early writers Gillin is a minority voice in his conclusion that "for many years after their arrival in this country, the Dunkers cared little for education. The Germantown congregation were in a degree an exception, and it appears that Christopher Sauer and his son, Christopher, Jr., made the exception. . . . It is true that Mack and Beissel were interested in literary work of the religious sort, but they were self-taught and only by accomodation of language could they be called educated men."[15] The fairly high number of identified Brethren publications before the Revolutionary War should probably be viewed as the result of deep religious conviction (including the felt-need to answer religious polemics) rather then the results of advanced training. It is akin to the tremendous outpouring in print of the early Quakers, few of whom were formally-trained persons.

There is no basis for the repeated claim that the Germantown Brethren founded the first Protestant Sunday School in

1735. What took place there were meetings of young people caught up in a period of revival. They met for mutual edification and praise. Better grounds for the honor rest with the activities of Ludwig Hocker in Ephrata a decade later, who did gather local children for instruction in the A.B.C.'s and the bible. However, this took place well after the split between the Brethren and the Beissel-led movement and can be called Brethren activity only in the broader sense. The cards bearing scriptural texts and verses by Tersteegen which issued from the Sauer press in 1744 were meant for devotional reading in private or for family worship. They were not Sunday School cards[16]

An important question is what effect the Revolution had upon the Brethren. There seems to be unanimity of agreement that the shock of the war upon the Brethren disrupted the pattern of previous growth and sent them into the wilderness. It is thought to mark a sea-change in Brethren development. The forced silencing of the Sauer press is held to be central in the change, because it had provided intellectual and spiritual leadership and had served to unify the Brethren. What can be said about this? There is little evidence that the Sauer press in fact played this role, although no doubt Brethren were numbered among readers of the Sauer papers. It is known that Peter Leibert, another Brethren figure, reinstituted printing in Germantown using much of the Sauer equipment, this beginning in 1784. It does not seem to be the case that the position of Sauer II among the Brethren was pre-eminent as has often been stated. Other leaders, such as Daniel Leatherman, certainly had much more influence.

There is some evidence that the total impact of the Revolution was not as great as we have sometimes thought. There were instances of chicanery and of heavy financial oppression through taxes in the middle and southern colonies. There was confiscation of goods and commandeering of horses and wagons. There does not seem to be the extent of personal suffering (although the Sauer family experienced tribulation) and loss of life such as the Brethren experienced in the Civil War. The most complete history of pacifism in the United States has been written by Peter Brock. He concluded that the Brethren suffered comparatively little. While admitting that lack of records might skew the picture, Brock found that the Brethren were often able to work out a *modus vivendi* with the military authorities "which accounts for the apparent absence of hardship undergone as a result of a direct refusal to bear arms."[17]

In regard to migration, it is clear that the Brethren were moving both south and west in search of land much earlier than

the Revolution. Recent research has indicated that this shift came earlier than had at one time been thought possible. It is likely that the pace of Brethren migration increased after the Revolutionary War ceased and that they joined other Americans taking advantage of the cessation of conflict and the new boundary lines drawn. It is also possible that the economic plight of the post-war years bore upon them heavily as it did others. We should probably look more at the economic influences causing migration rather than put emphasis solely on persecution because of their pacifist witness. This part of the story needs much more research. We may find the brethren reflecting the same motivations which caused the general westward exodus.

We need to look at the paradox noted earlier. The post-Revolutionary era was said to be a period of decline but it was also the time of great geographical and numerical growth. Rufus Bowman called the epoch one of "Expansion and Eclipse." The struggle was for subsistence rather than for culture. But "considering the new churches established, the brethren communities developed and the territory covered, the geographic groundwork was laid for the future Church of the Brethren." Mallott made the same observation, noting it was "the congregations planted then that have increased by division and extension; the Church of 1950 rests upon foundations that were substantially laid by 1850." Peter Brock was following Rufus Bowman in his observations, but pointed out the paradox. "Culturally the Brethren retrogressed. Their tight compact communities became cultural back-waters; most of their rank-and-file members were almost illiterate backwoodsmen, their leaders semi-literate rustic preachers. . . . But this was only one side of the coin. Over against this drying up of the cultural springs of the church's life we may set a physical expansion of the membership that by mid-century had brought the Brethren to the Pacific coast, dotting the whole Midwest and the states of the upper South with church communities, an expansion that augered well for the future once the tide of renewal had begun to flow in the spiritual life of the church."[18] How can it be at the time an era of decline and of great growth?

While granting the problems that life on the frontier brought to the Brethren, there are good reasons to believe that just as the claims for the glories of Brethren achievement in the colonial period can be shown to overdrawn, just so can the darkness of the wilderness period be shown to be exaggerated. It is necessary first of all to emphasize the success of the Brethren pattern of church life in meeting the challenges of the migration westward. Along with the natural advantages of the

free church or believers' church forms—the "free ministry", practical application of the priesthood of all believers, the worship in homes, the lack of formal liturgies—there are two other important institutions which did much to preserve Brethren unity of doctrine and fellowship. These are the adjoining elder system expanded into what approximated the circuit rider, and the annual meeting. Philip Boyle, a Brethren leader in Maryland, explained both well in a description of the Brethren published in 1848. In defining church leadership he remarked: "It is the duty of the bishops to travel from one congregation to another, not only to preach, but to set in order the things that may be wanting; to be present at their love-feasts and communions, and, when teachers and deacons are elected or chosen, or when a bishop is to be ordained, or when any member who holds an office in the church is to be excommunicated." John Kline's diary gives us good insight into the ways in which these traveling brethren served as a communication link among the scattered membership, bringing practical, physical, and social support along with the spiritual.

In describing the annual meeting, Boyle explained how decisions were reached and how the results were "recorded and printed in the German and English languages, and sent to the teachers in all the different congregations in the United States, who when they received them, or as soon as convenient, read them to the rest of their brethren. By this course of proceeding, they preserve a unity of sentiment and opinion throughout all their congregations." It may therefore be concluded that the Brethren were able to preserve the brotherhood rather effectively despite the rapidly growing area over which they were moving, with some exceptions. There were losses and defections of serious nature. The Restoration (Disciples) movement and the Universalists took large numbers and there were other smaller schisms. But in fact the Brethren had suffered such losses during every period of their development.[19]

One of the worst effects of the wilderness thesis has been the denigration of the many accomplishments of Brethren church leaders of the early national period. The names of John Kline, Peter Nead, Peter Keyser and George Wolfe, Jr. can stand for many more. Because this was supposed to have been a dark period, their efforts have been given but grudging mention at times.

Even on the level of publication, the period is by no means barren as often claimed. Along with the Leibert press can be placed his contemporaries who were third generation descendants of the Sauer printing dynasty. David Sower was located in

Norristown, Pennsylvania and Samuel Sower developed a very large and respected printing business in Baltimore. In Lancaster the Baumann family and later J. E. Pfautz were active. The Salas printed Brethren material in the Canton, Ohio, area prior to Kurtz' beginning efforts. As far as numbers of individual publications, the *Brethren Bibliography* lists more than four times as many titles for the period from 1778 to 1850 as for the period 1713-1778. Some of these are reprints but that is also true of the earlier period. In the area of doctrinal writing, one finds the efforts of Christian Longanecker, Jacob Stoll, Peter Bowman, Benjamin Bowman, and in place of first prominence, Peter Nead. It is important to note that his famous *Theology* (published in 1850), was a compilation of his earlier writings which he began publishing in 1833-34. Henry Holsinger commented at one point that the apparent barrenness of the colonial period was owing to ignorance of the actual production.[20] The same comment can be made for the post-Revolutionary time.

We have thus far tried to show that many of the claims for the colonial period should be discarded and that the achievements of the wilderness period should be rightfully highlighted. It remains to offer some suggestions about the reasons for the introduction and elaboration of the wilderness thesis. It should first be stated that we are all the beneficiaries of the labors of our predecessors and must remember this advantage. It should be little merit for us if we could not make some advances. It would also be unfair to charge knowing bias and distortion to the early writers. Rather, it seems to me to be a case of the needs which they brought to their task.

Brumbaugh, Holsinger, Wayland, and Flory and the others felt themselves attacked on two fronts. On the one hand they were conscious of belonging to a religious body commonly thought to be a backward, rural sect. As they moved into the circles of wider society and advanced learning, they must have been uncomfortable with the sneers about the "dumb Dutch," and Lancaster County "where the Dunkers are thick." (In 1928 a sociologist urged his colleagues to forego the study of the totem dances of the Australians or the taboos of the Bantus to study the footwashing of the Brethren.) Along with the ethnic societies of the time, they wrote what is technically called "filio-pietistic" history, out of some feelings of inferiority. In the preface to his history, Brumbaugh complained that "perhaps no religious sect is so little understood and so persistently misrepresented as the German Baptist Brethren. Their name, their belief, their history, all are unknown to the general reader and even to the scholar who fails to consult ultimate sources. It is of course not

necessary to notice the malicious mis-statements of prejudiced and bigoted zealots. . . ." In addition to providing a record of the early Church, he set out his aim as using "this record as a defense of primitive Christianity as believed, interpreted, and practiced by the church of the German Baptist Brethren."[21] What a satisfaction in this context to point to such an outstanding person as a Christopher Sauer with all his genius and ability. If the more prestigious churches could take pride in tradition of educated clergy, there was readiness to believe that the founders of their own Brethren faith had equally advanced background.

On the other side, these writers were challenged by the conservative element in the church who believed that such institutions as academies and colleges, Sunday schools, literary activities and the like were innovations and moreover partook of the world. We must recall that the writers of the histories had thrown their lives into such institutions. These writers were college professors and presidents, editors and publishers. How were they to meet the challenge of their critics?

As they surveyed the historical past they were delighted to find (as they thought) that the early Brethren had a record of high attainment in just these areas. What better argument could they bring to bear, especially because their opponents consistently appealed to tradition? If the tradition could be shown to be one of pioneering in education, publishing, and literary endeavor, the critics' position would be undercut. To the cry of "innovation" could be countered the cry of "restoration." Thus in one of Flory's books, he says of the post-1850 era: "[T]he church was beginning to reach out again for some of those fine things in its past life that it had, for the time being, lost. . . . The church was coming back. . . . And it is significant that most of the things in which the new generation was expressing itself were in keeping with the ideals that the church had fostered in its early history: so that the new life manifested in the church was not something wild, sensational, extraneous, or foreign to the Church of the Brethren. It was a revival of the ancient spirit which the church had started and in some instances the new expression was almost in identical terms with that of the early church." In Brumbaugh's words: "We began an educated and powerful church. Let us try with all our energies to restore the church to its early and splendid history." Wayland remarked that the colonial period of the church was remarkable for the number and character of important enterprises that were then inaugurated: "Pastoral work, church charities, and home missions, opposition to slavery and promulgation of peace

principles, Sunday schools, higher education, religious and secular printing, theological and devotional literature, music, art, all had fruitful beginnings and powerful revivals; and in a few of these forms of activity the church has only recently recovered herself the laudable position she occupied a century and a half ago" (written in 1908).[22]

These men were vitally involved in church reform and renewal as they understood them. They recognized that history could be a powerful weapon in their armory. They could be the true conservatives, calling the church back to what it had once known. In 1876 the note was already sounded in an article which claimed the first Sunday school for the Brethren. "We suppose it will startle some of our Brethren when we tell them that the first Sunday school ever introduced, was started by the Brethren, but facts are stubborn things, when we wish to avoid them, but in this one we glory as it will effectually remove that imaginary stigma cast upon the institution by saying, 'In this thing, like many others, we are patterning after the world.' Some of our early Brethren manifested a zeal and spirit of enterprise that ought now to put us to shame when we see and learn how little we have done and are now doing." And Flory judged that "this excellent beginning in our denominational history should be a source of encouragement to those among us who have been working to bring about, to a still greater extent, a similar state of affairs in our own time." His vision was clear for the Brethren of his day in relation to that of an earlier time. "The church of the Brethren of that time was an aggressive body, small in number, but generous in spirit. . . . The church of today will do well to inform itself about the history of the early church and revive its spirit in our modern life."[23]

With these attitudes and hopes it is not surprising that they saw the early history through the spectacles of their dreams for their beloved brotherhood. I think it may fairly be said of them something akin to what a conservative critic said of the Protestant historian and theologian Adolph Harnack: "The Christ that Harnack sees, looking back through nineteen centuries of Catholic darkness, is only the reflection of a liberal Protestant face seen at the bottom of a deep well."[24] The Brethren that our earlier historians saw back through the seventy-five years of wilderness darkness was to some extent a reflection of their own position and hopes for the church. The historical error was attempting to understand the early Brethren within the modern context, rather than seeking to understand the Brethren in the original context. It led to such statements as that made by J. H. Moore when writing in the Schaff-Herzog

encyclopedia about the colonial Brethren. ". . . they began emigrating to America, settling first at Germantown, Pa., where *denominational headquarters* were established. [emphasis added]" In the *Brethren's and Family Almanac* for 1897 he wrote of the early Brethren and their "reformatory movement" in Germantown: "They were soon favored with a large publishing house, and sent forth a vast amount of literature. Here they also held Sunday school long before these schools were known among the leading denominations. And some of the Sunday school literature, in the form of cards, is still in existence."[25] It is quite plain that Moore, himself deeply involved in the establishment of a denominational headquarters, in the beginnings of a new publishing house, and in the production of Sunday school literature, was transposing terms and concepts familiar to him back upon the early history. To a less obvious degree, many of the other historians were doing the same.

We have primarily been engaged in analysis and criticism, attempting to show the ways in which the traditional view of Brethren history falls short of full congruence to the record now as available to us. A more important task, that of synthesis—the creation of a more adequate interpretation—remains to be done. This will probably take the form of a steadier, less erratic line of development, without the peaks and valleys of the "rise, fall and revival" view of the Brethren story. It should relate the Brethren much more to the general historical movements of the time. Brethren expansion and congregation-building could add significant detail to what is already known about the frontier activities of the Baptists, Methodists, and Disciples. It is to be hoped that this meeting will bring us several steps forward in this important undertaking. History can fulfill its function of perspective best to the degree that it accurately records and interprets. Human limitations being what they are, our best efforts will not avoid failings. Perhaps gatherings comparable to this in the future will be able to show areas of distortion or blindspots in our labors unknown and unknowable to us today. In all of this, may we be guided by a text which was commended recently to a class on research methods, found in I Thessalonians 5:21: "Test everything: hold fast what is good."

FOOTNOTES

[1] Bibliographical references may be found in the annotated listing in D. F. Durnbaugh, ed., *The Church of the Brethren: Past and Present* (Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Press, 1971), p. 170ff.

[2] For Kurtz' problems, see "The History of the Brethren," *Monthly Gospel Visiter,* 4 (1854), 1:17-20: "Our main object is, to make the *earliest*

history of our brotherhood as complete as possible, and not to commence it, until we are fully prepared. For the latter, and especially for the latest part (our own times) of this history we have perhaps as many materials as any brother living, yet experience has taught us, that this part is to be left over to those who may come after us, when all our predilections and prejudices and partialities have been buried with us." For Cassel, see Marlin L. Heckman, "Abraham Harley Cassel, Nineteenth Century Pennsylvania German Book Collector," *Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society,* 7 (Breinigsville, Pa.: 1973), 105-208 (especially pp. 157-165). The quotation is from Martin G. Brumbaugh, *History of the German Baptist Brethren* (Mount Morris, Il.: Brethren Publishing House, 1899), xii. The press is hereafter cited as "BPH."

[3] Auburn A. Boyers, "Changing Concepts of Education in the Church of the Brethren," (unpubl. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1969); Albert T. Ronk, *History of the Brethren Church* (Ashland , Ohio: Brethren Publishing Co., 1968); J. M. Kimmel, *Chronicles of the Brethren* (Covington, Ohio: Little Printing Co., 1951). A typical expression of the way in which the story has been utilized by the church is found in the article by Miles Taber, "The Challenge of our Heritage," *Brethren Missionary Herald,* 20 (Nov. 29, 1958), 48: 8-9.

[4] Floyd E. Mallott, *Studies in Brethren History* (Elgin, Ill.: BPH, 1954), 45-46. See also John S. Noffsinger, *A Program for Higher Education in the Church of the Brethren* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1925), 1: Boyers, "Conceptions," 2-3.

[5] Otho Winger, *History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren* (Elgin, Ill.: BPH, 1920), 159.

[6] D. L. Miller, ed., *Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren* (Elgin, Ill.: BPH, 1908), 10-11, 26.

[7] *Two Centuries,* 307-08, 310. See also S. Z. Sharp, *Educational History of the Church of the Brethren* (Elgin, Ill.: BPH, 1923), 19-32.

[8] John S. Flory, *Flashlights from History* (Elgin, Ill.: BPH, 1932), 141, 146; Ronk, *History,* p. 72 (chapter title: "The Brethren Mind of Seventy-Five Silent Years"); John L. Gillin, *The Dunkers* (New York, 1906), 154.

[9] J. S. Flory, "Literary Activities of the Brethren in the Nineteenth Century," *Yearbook of the Church of the Brethren 1919* (Elgin, Ill.: BPH, 1918), 41; Holsinger's *History of the Tunkers and the Brethren Church* (Lathrop, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Co., 1901), 269; Sharp, *Educational History,* 40.

[10] Boyers, "Conceptions," 70; Desmond Bittinger, "Educational Activity," in *Past and Present,* 81-82.

[11] John S. Flory, *Literary Activity of the German Baptist Brethren in the Eighteenth Century* (Elgin, Ill.: BPH, 1908), 41-42.

[12] Brumbaugh, *History,* 351.

[13] See D. F. Durnbaugh, "Was Christopher Sauer a Dunker?" *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* 93 (1969), 383-391.

[14] Quoted in Kit Schoff, "German Sectarian and British Friend," *The American-German Review,* 26 (1959-1960), 2:17-19.

[15] Gillin, *Dunkers,* 209.

[16] See R. Jan Thompson, "The Birth of the Sunday School Movement in the Church of the Brethren," *Brethren Life and Thought,* 15 (1970),

217-229; Oswald Seidensticker,*The First Century of German Printing in America* (Philadelphia: Schaefer and Koradi, 1893), 23.

[17] Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States* (Princeton: University Press, 1968), 269.

[18] Rufus Bowman, *The Church of the Brethren and War* (Elgin, Ill.: BPH, 1944), 101; Mallott, *Studies,* 133-134; Brock, *Pacifism,* 404-405.

[19] Philip Boyle, "History of the German Baptists, or Brethren," in John Winebrenner, *History of Denominations in the United States,* 2nd, rev. ed. (Harrisburg, Pa.: the author, 1848), 91-94. The most recent study of Brethren schisms is Robert B. Blair, "Modernisation and Subgroup Formation in a Religious Organization: A Case Study of the Church of the Brethren," (unpubl. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1974); a comprehensive listing of Brethren "subgroups", or schisms is found on pages 58-60.

[20] Holsinger, *History,* 263; D. F. Durnbaugh and L. W. Shultz, eds. "A Brethren Bibliography, 1713-1963," *Brethren Life and Thought,* 9 (Winter and Spring 1964), 11-36.

[21] Brumbaugh, *History,* xii, xvi.

[22] Flory, *Flashlights,* 154; Brumbaugh, *Two Centuries,* 26; Wayland, *Two Centuries,* 63.

[23] Quoted by Elizabeth Myers, *Two Centuries,* 263; Flory, *Two Centuries,* 331; John S. Flory, "A History of Education in the Church of the Brethren," in *Educational Blue Book and Directory of the Church of the Brethren,* eds. W. A. Cable and H. F. Sanger (Elgin, Ill.; General Educational Board, 1923), 27-28.

[24] Quoted in John Dillenberger and Claude Welch, *Protestant Christianity* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954), 221.

[25] J. H. Moore, "Dunkers" (Dunkards, Tunkers), *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia* 4 (1910), 24-26; "The Brethren and their Reformatory Movement," *Brethren's and Family Almanac* (1897), 4-15.

THE WILDERNESS ASPECT OF THE BRETHREN MOVEMENT—THE REASONS FOR IT

HOMER A. KENT, SR.

FOLLOWING the Revolutionary War the major segment of the Brethren movement entered upon what has often been called "the church in the wilderness." The reasons for this seem quite clear. The Revolutionary War brought great trial to the Brethren people. One of their beliefs was that it was wrong for the Christian to engage in carnal conflict. This brought them quickly into disrepute with those in authority in the colonies. The colonial government passed a law which was aimed directly at these people and the Quakers who held similar views on war. This law required every citizen of the colony to subscribe to an oath renouncing allegiance to the British government and pledging allegiance to the colony of Pennsylvania.

Two things relating to this matter the Brethren could not do and be true to their convictions, namely, go to war or take an oath. Some whose convictions were not very deep acquiesced to the popular pressure and followed the demands of the government. Such was the disappointing case of the two sons of the second Christopher Sower and their families who practically renounced the Brethren faith in favor of Loyalism. There were others who remained true to their convictions and stayed in Germantown and its vicinity, often suffering severe persecutions such as loss of property, scorn and ridicule.

But there was a third group which fled from the scene of persecution. They were like the disciples in Acts, chapter eight, who because of severe persecution left Jerusalem and became widely scattered. They were also like their fore-fathers in Germany who because of the stress of the times left their home country for America. And so the War was responsible for tides of emigration which flowed southward and westward. In following this course of action, they often had to leave behind them most of their earthly possessions, taking with them only that which could be transported in wagons, on horseback, or in boats.

Into Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Western Pennsylvania and beyond they went to carve out for themselves new homes and a new livelihood. They became a rural people and depended upon farming for sustenance, whereas before this they were engaged in trades of various sorts—shopkeeping, weaving, tailoring and the like. Ofttimes they became widely separated as individuals and groups and had little communication with each other although they usually emigrated in colonies. As John Flory says in his *Flashlights from History*, "The church had literally buried itself in the forests and on the prairies of the new world" (p. 115). It settled itself in little groups in a dozen states from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Because of its extreme isolation it is not difficult to understand why the church of this period has been called "The church in the wilderness." It became mainly interested in its own affairs and did not look far beyond its own horizons. It had limited educational advantages with the result that the church could not build up a strong leadership until this situation was rectified. But having said this, it must be noted that these folk possessed a thriftiness that enabled them to get along in the world and to compel the admiration of those who observed their industry and wholesome homelife. They also possessed a sincere love for the Word and Ways of God and a childlike faith that expressed itself in humble, upright living that was sure to make itself felt in days to come. "Their word is as good as their bond," was a statement often made regarding these people. The Brethren movement had become distinctly rural with a rural atmosphere pervading all its activitiy, and so it continued for many years and still is to be observed in many areas with some modifications.

Lack of the Printed Page

Contributing to this wilderness character (some have called it the period of the doldrums), are a number of factors, some of which I wish to consider briefly. One was the lack of the printed page. The confiscation of the Sower Press with its hundreds of publications, the greatest of which were the three editions of the Sower Bible, deprived the church of printed literature. This lack was especially felt by the Brethren who left the vicinity of Philadelphia and Germantown. It was difficult for them to keep abreast of the times. They had to learn to get along without printed material. They became solely concerned with their own local interests in the various rural areas where they settled. It was difficult for them even to receive communications from those they left behind in the Germantown vicinity.

They had no church publications and became satisfied to leave it that way. Henry Kurtz was responsible for the first church paper in the Brotherhood and this was not until 1851. Kurtz was educated in Germany and became a pastor in the Lutheran church, but after coming to America in 1819 he became dissatisfied with some of the Lutheran doctrines and under the influence of Elder George Hoke he cast his lot with the Brethren in 1828. A sort of David and Jonathan friendship developed between Kurtz and Hoke. To Hoke, Kurtz first made known the burden of his heart to see a paper published for the benefit of the Brethren church. Conversations ensued between the two men about the matter. Mrs. Kurtz evidently got into the act and is recorded as having said to her husband, "Henry, I have often wondered whether the Brethren forgot they could read after the Sower press was destroyed" (Virginia Fisher, *The Story of the Brethren,* p. 76). Doubtless there was a sense of humor in her remark, yet it was a reflection of the conditions which had developed in the church during the seventy-five years since the Revolutionary War. *The Gospel Visitor* was the name of the monthly paper which appeared. It was published in the loft of the springhouse on the Henry Kurtz farm near Poland, Ohio. With its appearance Henry Holsinger remarked that the *Gospel Visitor* "ushered in the progressive era in the Tunker church" (*History,* p. 470). Kurtz found the way difficult in starting his new venture, so used were they to being without anything like this that they looked upon it as an innovation. The Annual Meeting did not stand in the way of its publication but did nothing in particular to boost its circulation. Kurtz, Hoke, Holsinger and a few others felt this was an important way to bring the Brethren closer together, to acquaint them with the events of the day especially in relation to the church. But four years after the first issue, the circulation was only about 600. However, this was a beginning and marked a turning point in the history of the church.

The lack of interest which Kurtz experienced in this enterprise shows something of the indifference into which the people had settled. Moreover, it shows a serious lack of means for the furtherance of the Lord's work. Not only did they not have a monthly paper until the appearance of the *Gospel Visitor,* neither did they have Sunday School quarterlies, youth helps, Bible study aids, etcetera. Imagine our churches today with no *Messenger,* no *Evangelist,* no *Vindicator,* no *Missionary Herald,* no Sunday School quarterlies, and no youth directive materials! No wonder there was a tendancy toward stagnation. It is a wonder they did as well as they did!

Another lack that dominated the wilderness period was the absence of schools of higher learning. Even as late as 1853, in response to a query sent to the Annual Meeting this conclusion was handed down: "Considered that we would deem colleges a very unsafe place for a simple follower of Christ, inasmuch as they are calculated to lead us astray from the faith and obedience to the Gospel" (Minutes, Apr. 28, 1853). Such was not the attitude before the exodus from the Germantown area. The Sower press put forth an amazing volume of material tending toward raising the level of education in those days. Well over 200 titles of books, pamphlets, almanacs, articles and such like have been left to us; the most important, of course, were the three editions of the Sower Bible in 1743, 1763, and 1776. Christopher Sower the Younger became a strong supporter of all proper means of education for the youth of the land. He showed his interest in a very definite way by assisting in founding and maintaining the famous and still flourishing Germantown Academy. He served as trustee of the Academy for many years and was president of the board on two occasions. "Like his illustrious father, he was an apostle of light to the Germans of America," so said Dr. Martin Brumbaugh (*History*, p. 412).

Whereas in the days of the Macks and the Sowers education was given a prominent place, in the period of our consideration education seems to have been looked down upon, definitely feared. Another query about members sending their sons to college received this answer: "Considered not advisable inasmuch as experience has taught that such very seldom come back afterward to the humble ways of the Lord" (Minutes, Art. 1, 1831). The same attitude prevailed with respect to high schools. This attitude could not help but have its effect on the caliber of church leadership and its ministry. We doubtless can sympathize to a degree at least with these folk as we look upon many schools today with their liberal, atheistic and non-Biblical bent but surely there is a place for the Christian College, Bible Institutes and Theological Seminaries which are founded upon the Word of God. Where would we be without them?

During the wilderness period they had no such institutions. By and large strong leaders were not developed. Of course there were some notable exceptions such as George Hoke, Peter Nead, John Kline, Adam Paine, Jacob Leatherman, and George Wolfe to mention a few. For the most part the elders were self-trained. Their preaching was often of a rambling nature, mostly lacking in homiletical structure. They were not paid a salary so they worked all week on the farm and did the best they could to keep

their parishioners awake on Sunday with their over-long sermons. The reason assigned for not paying their elders in those days was that the Gospel is free, so why should hearers pay to hear it preached? These elders had no training in administration and so there was little constructive planning in the work of the church. Ofttimes an elder had more than one congregation to oversee so that services, usually only in the morning, were not held every Sunday in a particular location. Apparently they had no Monday morning ministerial meetings to plan for programs ahead. They were not much concerned with statistical reports concerning gains and losses in attendance and amounts given to various phases of the Lord's work in their districts. Each elder was pretty much on his own in his particular area to minister as he saw fit.

Looking at the situation there were some who began to feel the need for better training for their elders. They saw what other denominational groups were doing. This brought into focus the need for schools beyond the grammar school level. This was a further sign of a progressive spirit that began to be felt toward the close of the wilderness period, in the 1850's. It coincides with the emergence of the printing press previously discussed. Many frowned upon such thoughts feeling that colleges and similar institutions were "calculated to lead us astray from the faith and obedience to the Gospel" (Minutes, Art. 28, 1853). But the need was not to be denied. In 1852 Jacob Miller, of Buffalo Mills, Pennsylvania, blazed the trail. Being a public-school teacher in Pennsylvania for several years with marked success, he became impressed with the idea that he ought to devote his ability toward lifting the standard of education among the young people of his own church. Consequently in that year he erected a building at his own expense for the purpose. At the outset the school proved popular, but it lasted only one year because of the illness and subsequent death of its founder.

But the new spirit exemplified by Miller was to bear fruit. Another effort was made in 1859 in Rockingham County, Virginia, near Broadway. A large building was provided and a school was instituted named Cedar Grove Seminary. John Kline, John J. Bowman and Daniel Miller were leaders in this movement. This school like the former did not last long. These two schools were primarily of the elementary type but gave some courses considerably in advance of the public schools of their day. A third attempt was made in 1861 in Miflin County, Pennsylvania, where Professor S. Z. Sharp took charge of the Kishacoquillas Seminary and made it a Brethren school. It offered some college work. But its life was brief. Though start-

ing off auspiciously, after five years it had to close its doors for lack of patronage. The failure of such an outstanding scholar as Professor Sharp points out the difficulties and lack of interest in promoting higher education in those days.

Other attempts to establish schools of higher education ended without success. But the encouraging thing about it all was that there was a new viewpoint developing in the Brotherhood which in the end would bear fruit and help to lead it out of the wilderness. Shortly after the Civil War some of these dreams were to be realized.

An institution noticeably missing in the wilderness period was the Sunday School. This was not always so, for Dr. Martin Brumbaugh goes so far as to say that "The Brethren may . . . justly claim to be the founders of Sunday schools" (*History*, p. 464). He goes on to say that "no sect ever devoted more care to the training of its children than did the early Brethren. That this pioneer activity should have been abandoned is as inexplicable as the reluctance with which a few still oppose Sunday Schools on the ground that they are innovations" (ibid.). Dr. Brumbaugh was thinking of Germantown and Ephrata when he wrote like this. He calls attention to Ludwig Hoecker who was the leader of schools in both these places at least closely approximating the present day Sunday School. Dr. Otho Winger, outstanding leader and author in the Church of the Brethren, was impressed with the care the early Brethren gave to their young people in this regard and wonders why they should have come to neglect this duty, and even to oppose it, unless it was due to the absence among them of any church literature as we have already seen (See *History*, p. 180).

It is quite evident then that during the period of our discussion there were few if any Sunday Schools. It was the prevailing feeling that such schools were an innovation that smacked of worldliness. Critical remarks were made about the raucous music aided by musical instruments witnessed in some Sunday Schools in other denominations. At the Annual Meeting of 1838 a query was presented asking, "Whether it be right for members to take part in Sunday Schools, class meetings, and the like?" The answer was loud and clear, "Considered most advisable to take no part in such like things" (Minutes, Art. 10).

YOUTH ACTIVITIES NEGLECTED

As previously noted what was true of Sunday Schools also pertained to youth activities of other kinds. Could you have visited the Brethren churches of this period you would have found not only no Sunday Schools but no young peoples societies,

no youth rallies or camps, no Bible quizz matches, no talent competition exercises and the like which are so prevalent today in many of our churches. It appears that there was a definite lack in these matters. Not only was there a deficiency in the training of youth in the churches but the absence of Sunday Schools and youth programs deprived a lot of laymen the privilege of teaching the Word of God and lay administration. But no doubt this deficiency was in a measure cared for by the close-knit homelife and neighborhood fellowship they experienced in those days.

Significantly, following the 1850's a new trend began to develop. At the Annual Meeting of 1857 in answer to a query, "How is it considered for Brethren to have Sunday Schools conducted by Brethren?" this answer came, "Inasmuch as we are commanded to bring up our children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, we know of no Scripture which condemns Sabbath schools, if conducted in gospel order, and if they are made the means of teaching scholars a knowledge of the Scriptures" (Minutes, Art. 11). By the year 1875 Sunday Schools were operating in almost all sections of the Brotherhood. This new trend also began to show itself in other efforts to train the youth of the Church.

Foreign Missions Overlooked

Another characteristic that settled down upon the Brethren was the lack of a missionary vision. Elgin S. Moyer in his book, *Missions in the Church of the Brethren*, in reference to the period under consideration, says, "For seventy-five years the church was contented to live largely unto itself and consequently failed to develop into an aggressive missionary body" (p. 149). He makes the further remark regarding Christian activities following the Revolutionary War: "Then, at the time when many other churches were beginning foreign missionary work, the Church of the Brethren withdrew from its literary and educational interest and activity, and became a secluded church of the frontier" (ibid.) In spite of this lack of vision of the regions beyond their own borders, the church did receive hundreds of members into its fellowship, largely from their own families and neighbors. But there were no missionary societies, no missionary boards, no recruits being trained for missionary endeavor in foreign fields, no missionary rallies to stir up interest in spreading the Gospel across the world. What missionary work there was was strictly of the home missionary variety.

Not until the end of the period under discussion do we find an encouraging stirring with respect to missionary responsi-

bility. In the conference minutes of 1852 there was a definite acknowledgement of foreign missionary responsibility. Nothing specific was done about it, and as Galen Royer says in his book *Thirty-three Years of Missions,* "The prevailing sentiment was far from missionary" (p. 34). The church felt that its main duty was to conserve the faith rather than to spread it. But at least at this time they were beginning to think more definitely about the matter. In 1853 they expressed themselves to the effect that Brethren emigrating westward would do well to situate themselves advantageously to evangelism. Articles on the responsibility of missions were beginning to appear in the *Gospel Visitor* and elsewhere. Other actions were taken by Annual meetings in 1856 and 1858 looking toward action in the realm of foreign missions. Then the Civil War intervened and practical interest in these matters was held in abeyance.

The first foreign mission board in the Brethren church was formed in November of 1875 by the district of Illinois. This board became instrumental in beginning the first foreign mission work among the Brethren in 1876 and sent Christian Hope to Denmark in that year. This event is outside the limitations of our subject, and so I will not deal further with it except to observe with Elgin S. Moyer in his *Missions in the Church of the Brethren* regarding this event, "It was an event that was to lead directly to the beginning of the foreign missionary enterprise of the church" (p. 150).

Thus it is quite evident that all during the wilderness period of our history there was no organized plan of foreign missionary effort. Of course, it must be recognized that many of these people were Germans and witnessed to a goodly number of English people as they established themselves in the various parts of our country. We do have isolated examples of men like Adam Paine (1780-1832) who preached to the Indians of Northern Illinois and Southern Wisconsin. Dr. L. W. Shultz states that he "preached in the tiny village of Chicago" (*Mural History,* p. 17). For the most part, however, the Brethren seemed pretty much concerned for themselves, carving out a new life in this new land. The situation seems not to have been much different in the Germantown area from which the exodus began.

Can we imagine what it would be like in our present day churches if there was no foreign missionary vision, no missionaries from foreign lands to challenge us with what God is doing there under their ministries, no appeals for funds to support ministries across the seas, no challenges to lift us out of ourselves and to heed the Great Commission?

Thus hampered in the ways just considered and others as well, we see the church composed of earnest, thrifty, God-fearing people but very largely cut off from the rest of the world. It had literally buried itself in the forests and on the prairies of the new world. Unconsciously it had built a fence around itself and was content to live unto itself. Most of the members were farmers. They built their own homes and furnished them with simple homemade furniture. There were no pictures on the walls, particularly of people. This was looked upon as vanity. There were no carpets on the floor. A large spinning wheel in the corner of the living room was one of the instruments used for providing clothing for the family. The home of the elder was often used for preaching services until the latter part of the period when spacious church buildings began to appear. Educational opportunities were very scanty. There was no church paper nor magazines and ofttimes the Bible was the only book in the house. And, of course, there was no daily newspaper to keep them abreast of the times. But while they were backward in their ways, it must not be forgotten that they did not forget their Christian faith. It kept them during all the period. It is to be regretted, however, that they were so slow in obtaining a worldwide vision of evangelism.

By 1850 they had developed fixed views of life. This was reflected in the homes they built, the character and arrangement of their farm buildings and in their church buildings and form of services. It was definitely manifest in their form of dress, both of the men and the women. On this latter matter listen to John Flory: "It established a form of dress for the purpose of preventing change. When the hoop skirt, the bustle, and the high sleeves later came as ornaments of woman's dress, the principle of plainness also became a motive for protest against change" (*Flashlights,* p. 145). They were marked by their conservatism wherever they went. As Flory continues to remark, "A monotonous conformity to a type had settled down upon the church" (ibid. p. 141). There were some distinctions to be observed in the latter matters in the various communities. Dr. Flory comments further about the Brethren of this period, "It has lost its breadth of vision. It has lost aggressiveness. It has lost the cultural atmosphere that formerly surrounded it" (ibid. p. 141).

The church of this period frowned upon taking any part in politics or elections. And no brother should hold a governmental office. Surely definite changes in attitude were to take place in the next generation to allow an outstanding brother

like Martin G. Brumbaugh to become governor of Pennsylvania in 1914, and before this to permit Steven H. Bashor, successful Brethren evangelist, to run for Congress though unsuccessfully following 1883.

The preaching of this time was very earnest and sincere but lacking in depth. Much of it was given over to rambling messages from Genesis to Revelation, messages overbalanced with exhortations against worldliness and much emphasis given to the distinctive doctrines of the Brethren. The ministry was lacking in the dynamic of the risen Christ with a gospel for the whole world. In short the church was in a rut and needed some saving influences to lift it out of the doldrums. How could it have been otherwise with no efficient scholastic training for the leadersip of the church?

It is not the purpose of this paper to deal with the experiences of the church following the Civil War, but it is encouraging to note that following this critical period the church began to take on constructive ways. Shortly before the War there were stirrings that bespoke better days for the church. It had learned some lessons from the lethargy of the preceding decades and was awakening to a broader ministry. Some notable men like John Kline, Daniel Sayler, James Quinter, Henry Kurtz, Henry Holsinger and George Wolfe, to mention just a few, began to realize the importance of the Biblical principle, "Where there is no vision, the people perish" (Prov. 29:18). The printed page experienced more frequent usage, institutions of higher learning began to appear, Sunday Schools found a place in many of the churches, and evangelism began to be emphasized. A new day was emerging!

In closing, we will do well to heed the lessons the wilderness period of the Brethren has to teach us. Let us be encouraged to make the Bible the center and circumference of our denominational life. In spite of some definite failures during this period adherence to the Word of God was what held the wilderness people together. Let us value as never before the potent ministry of the printed page. Let us pray for better magazines, better books and more and better writers to enhance this ministry. Let us realize the place and importance of Christian schools in our Brotherhood and use our influence to keep them in harmony with the principles of the Word of God. Let us take a new look at our Sunday Schools and see how we can help to make them better agents in our churches to the edification of our membership. Let us realize anew that our churches cannot grow strong as they ought to be without a dedicated and well trained ministry. And last, but not least, let us learn from the lack in the wild-

erness period, the importance of a vigorous program of outreach for the lost millions across the world. This is our commission!

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What Were the Brethren Doing Between 1785 and 1860?

Roger E. Sappington

EVERY generation of historians has several responsibilities, it seems to me. It should seek for new and unutilized evidence about the past. It should interpret that evidence in meaningful ways. And it should seek ways of sharing the evidence and the interpretations with other interested historians. It is my purpose in this paper and in a second which I shall present tomorrow morning to fulfill those three responsibilities. I shall describe some evidence, a part of which has never been published, a part of which has been published in non-Brethren sources, and a part of which comes from Brethren sources but seems necessary to make the other two parts meaningful. My interpretation of this evidence, briefly stated, is that the Brethren between 1785 and 1860 were involved in a number of very important activities which contributed in significant ways to the future development of the church. And finally, I came to this conference with the intention of sharing for the first time some of my material and my ideas. Most of this material, and much more, will appear, hopefully in 1975, in a 500 page volume of source materials which I am now completing.

In this paper, I have chosen to examine four of the important activities in which the Brethren were involved during these years: (1) the western movement; (2) the erection of meeting-houses; (3) the emphasis on evangelism; and (4) the maintenance of communication and the defense of Brethren beliefs. In the second paper tomorrow morning, I shall examine a fifth activity, the influence of the Brethren on the development of three other churches.

A major activity of the Brethren between 1785 and 1860 was emigrating to the western frontier. One of the first western states to receive Brethren was Kentucky. According to the John Clingingsmith account, which was written about 1885 by a Brethren minister whose father had been one of the earliest Brethren settlers in Missouri in the 1790's, "Old father Casper

Roland was the first Dunker minister in Kentucky, date not given, and old father John Hendricks, of North Carolina, was the next."[1] His information indicated that they had arrived in Kentucky before 1800 and that conclusion is substantiated by other evidence taken from their respective land records in North Carolina. Also, evidence from the Kentucky records studied by David Eller indicates that Roland and Hendricks were arriving in Warren County, Kentucky around 1800.[2]

Although the earliest Brethren in Kentucky were evidently arriving from the Carolinas, the Brethren were also arriving at about the same time from Pennsylvania after floating down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh. The classic illustration of such activity among the Brethren is the story of George Wolfe, Sr., who left western Pennsylvania to emigrate to Logan County, Kentucky in the year 1800. J. H. Moore, who gathered much of the extant material on Wolfe, told this story delightfully in his book, *Some Brethren Pathfinders*.[3]

Another Brethren family which was emigrating to Kentucky from Pennsylvania and which has not been so well known was the Bower family. Jacob Bower has told his story in considerable detail. He was born in Lancaster County in 1786. According to his story, "My parents belonged to the denomination of christians called Tunkers." He then described the family worship which took place morning and evening in the German language. About 1805 when he was nineteen, the family moved to Kentucky. Evidently, the young man lived for a time in Muhlenberg County, but his parents settled in Shelby County; other evidence indicates that there were Brethren congregations in both of these counties. In Kentucky and also during a brief stay in Indiana, he was exposed to Universalism. He commented: "I was rocked to sleep in the cradle of Universalism for a little more than five years," and also later, "A Universalist minister resided in the vicinity, and I made him several visits who strengthened me some in the faith; I was very fond of his company." Bower's comments at this point support the evidence that some of the Brethren in Kentucky had accepted Universalist ideas.

Eventually, Jacob Bower cast off Universalism and was converted to a more orthodox Christianity. Let him describe his final decision in terms of church membership: "About this time I had a great desire to be united with some society of christians. And in those days there were no societies in that part of Kentucky but Baptists, Tunkars, and some Methodists, and for a time I felt quite unworthy to be united with any, for I verily thought with myself, that if I was a child of grace at all, I was less than the least of all saints, and unworthy the name of

a christian. I first thought of uniting with the Tunkars. And if Mr. Hendrix (their preacher) had come into the vicinity, I would have been baptized by him (by trine immersion). I thought that it must be the right way, or Father would not have been baptized that way. But I could not arrive at any decision on the subject. I therefore resolved to read the new Testament, and go the way it pointed out to me, and unite with that church which practised, and walked nearest to the divine rule." To shorten the story somewhat, Bower eventually concluded from his reading of the New Testament that baptism involved a burial. Since "the dead are buried only once, so baptism is to be performed only once, and since the baptists baptized by single immersion backward, Bower and his wife were baptized in the Hazle Creek Baptist church in March, 1812.[4] Soon afterwards, he became a Baptist preacher and served for many years in that way. Bower's story illustrates the losses that the Brethren were suffering on the frontier, because there were not enough ministers to meet the needs of all of the scattered Brethren. Certainly, however, not all of the losses on the frontier were sustained by the Brethren, for they were also evangelistic, as a later section of this paper will demonstrate.

Of course much more could be said about Kentucky, but the lives of the Rolands, the Hendrickses, the Wolfes, and the Bowers indicate that the Brethren were arriving in Kentucky, primarily from two directions, in the closing years of the 18th and the early years of the 19th centuries.

Shortly after the Brethren began to settle in Kentucky, they also were moving into Ohio from Pennsylvania and from the South. Certainly one of the first Brethren ministers in Ohio and "indisputably the first Brethren minister west of the Great Miami River" was Jacob Miller, who for some thirty-five years before his arrival in Ohio in 1800 had been pioneering in Franklin County in southern Virginia. For the remaining fifteen years of his life, he helped to establish a Brethren settlement in the Miami River Valley, which has become one of the major centers of Brethren population in the years since.[5]

In the northeastern section of Ohio between Pittsburgh and Canton, Brethren settlers from Pennsylvania were organizing congregations in the first decade of the 19th century. One of the earliest ministers was John Gans, who settled in Stark County in 1804 and organized the Nimishillen congregation. Another early settlement some ten miles from the Pennsylvania line resulted in the organization of the Mill Creek congregation; one of the early leaders was George Hoke, who was called to the ministry in this congregation.[6]

The settlers in the Miami Valley of Ohio soon spilled across the state line into Indiana, and the result was the organization of the Four Mile congregation in 1809 by Jacob Miller in Union County, Indiana.[7] Although Brethren historians have traditionally considered this settlement the earliest Brethren settlement in Indiana, more recent studies have located a Brethren settlement in Clark County, Indiana, across the Ohio River from Louisville, Kentucky. By 1802, a Brethren minister from North Carolina named Jacob Stutzman had settled in this area. The evidence is sketchy, but David Eller has reported: "It is possible that Stutzman founded here the Olive Branch congregation, south of New Market in Clark County. This may have been the earliest Dunker congregation in Indiana."[8]

The evidence indicates that during the next quarter of a century the Brethren established some fifteen congregations in southern Indiana. One of the most important Brethren ministers during these years was Joseph Hostetler, who was born in a Brethren family in Shelby County, Kentucky on February 27th, 1797. His uncle was the well-known Brethren minister, Adam Hostetler. In his early life, he was exposed to the preaching of the Baptists and the Methodists, as well as the Brethren. In contrast to Jacob Bower's experience, however, Joseph Hostetler was baptized as a Brethren about 1816. That same year he was married and began to preach. In the fall of 1817 he moved to Washington County, Indiana, next-door to Clark County, and in 1819 Joseph Hostetler and John Ribble organized the Liberty congregation in Orange County with some thirty members. Hostetler began an itinerant ministry and the next year a congregation was organized in Lawrence County, directly north of Orange County.[9] How many more congregations he organized is not clear from the available evidence, but other sources indicate that by 1828 there were fifteen Brethren congregations in these counties in southern Indiana.[10] Today, there are no Brethren congregations in these counties. What happened to them will be described in the second paper on the relation of the Brethren to other denominations.

Wherever possible the westward pioneers travelled by water, and the early Brethren were no exception. The earliest Brethren in Illinois did most of their travelling by water. By 1808, George Wolfe, Jr., his brother, Jacob, and Abram Hunsacker had explored and had established a settlement in Union County, Illinois, some forty miles north of Cairo, in southern Illinois. They had travelled down the Ohio River, and then up the Cache River in order to reach their destination. At this time, none of the group had been baptized. A Methodist circuit-rider came through the

area several years after they had arrived and organized them into a Methodist class. Their Brethren ideas were still very strong, however, and in 1812 eight of them were baptized by John Hendricks from Kentucky.[11] George Wolfe, Jr. became the leader of the group and served for many years as one of the outstanding Brethren ministers in Illinois.

An unintentional tribute was paid to these Brethren in Union County by one of the outstanding Methodist circuit riders, Peter Cartwright. He noted in his autobiography that while he was serving in the Illinois legislature in the 1820's the representative from Union County introduced special legislation regarding the Brethren because they "thought, or professed to think, it was altogether wrong that they should pay taxes, work on roads, perform military duty, or serve on juries, etc., etc., etc." Cartwright was of course very unsympathetic and recommended, for example, that "if there were any unwilling to pay taxes to support government, they should be declared outlaws, and denied the protection of government." After Cartwright's speech, "the representative from Union, at this, flew into a mighty rage, and, instead of arguing the case began to eulogize the Dunkers and drew a contrast between them and the Methodists. He said the Dunkers were an honest, industrious, hard-working people; their preachers worked for their own support; there was no hypocritical begging among them; no carrying the hat round in the congregation for public collections, and hypocritical whining among them for support, as was always to be seen among Methodist preachers. Thus he laid on thick and fast." As was always the case, Cartwright was quite capable of defending himself and the Methodists, and in this case Cartwright dug up something from the other representative's past, which made him seem hypocritical.[12] In telling the story, however, Cartwright had provided an excellent insight into the beliefs and lives of these early Illinois Brethren.

The settlement of the Brethren in Missouri provides the historian with some interesting problems. Although the territory was farther from the established centers of Brethren life along the Atlantic coast than the territory in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, the earliest Brethren arrived in Missouri before they arrived in the Ohio River Valley states, according to the available evidence. John Clingingsmith quoted a statement by Daniel Hendricks, the youngest son of John Hendricks: "The first Dunkers that ever moved to Cape Girardeau, Missouri, were Peter Baker, John Miller, Joseph Niswanger, these came from North Carolina, and Daniel Clingingsmith," who came from Pennsylvania. "I think they moved there about the year 1790."

From his own information, Clingingsmith concluded that "this may not be the precise time; but it was not far from that time when these brethren moved there."

John Hendricks in his far-flung travels found these Brethren in Missouri and ministered to their spiritual needs. He conducted the first Love Feast about 1810 in the home of Joseph Niswanger. Eventually, Hendricks decided to move to Missouri and sold his Kentucky property; before the move had been consummated, however, he became ill and died. His family completed the move, and in 1818 his son, James, was ordained as an elder by George Wolfe of Illinois. Clingingsmith concluded that in the 1820's, "there was at this place, a nice little church of humble followers of the meek and lowly Jesus—probably between thirty and fifty members,—and it continued in a prosperous condition as long as Eld. James Hendricks lived. . . . Now this church, under the care of Eld. James Hendricks, and the church across the river, in Illinois, under the care of Eld. Geo. Wolfe, about forty miles apart, were in peace and harmony, and the ministers frequently visited and assisted each other. And oh, how these pioneers of the West loved each other! Far more so than Brethren usually do now."[13]

One final area of Brethren settlement during these years is worth our attention in this paper because of the interesting evidence that has recently become available. About 1853 members of the Brubaker family settled in Story County, Iowa in an area where there were no other Brethren. They liked the area very much and they immediately began to write plaintive letters to their friends in the East urging them to emigrate to the West for a variety of reasons. Listen to their arguments:

> i suppose you would like to know how wee like our new home   wee like it verry well   as to the country wee could not got to a richer country in the world   the land is as black as a hat and the soil is from 3 to 6 feet deep   we have some off the pertiest potaters and turnips you ever saw   all kinds off vegitation groes fine hear. . . i like this country far Better then i ever did tennessee for several resaons   i have often wishd that our old Brother helten and solomon garver was out her   their is no Breathren in our settlement   But some must be the first and i hope some will soon come   wee should be glad if some would come   whie not Come hear whear [you] can get Land for one dollar and 25 cents per acre and i do Certenly know that you never saw as rich land in your life as this state is and thoes that have thier land and live in a slav state   i have not seen a Coullerd person since i am in the State if anny off the Breathren in tends to move to the new Country now is their time and wee think this Country will have all the things first"[14]

"this is one of the most fertiel and Beutifullest Countries in the world our corn feilds and wheat feilds shoes what strong rich Land their is and wee have the Best garden that wee Ever had since wee keep house their is no Clods and poor land to Encounter with hear it can rain hard hear one day and the next wee can go right to ploughing again . . . wee are all highly pleased with the Country and our home one off our old neighbors from tennesee Came to see us he was hear weeke before Last you have seen him it was John Blair that ust to wagon to Linchburg he says he Cant Content him self in tennesee no Longer he is a going to seel as soon as he Can and move right hear he says he studied all the way out hear how wee was fixt and what kind off a home wee had but he found it all so much better than he had anny ideia that he wants to Come and settel hear in a free Country wee have not seen the first Negro since wee are in the state . . . now i must tell you something about the religion their is some new Lites and some Cammelites some Baptist some united breathren and some methodist they preach a greadeal it is Low hear and Low their - - - - - and wee are quite By our selvs and wee have not that Blessing yet that wee Can hear our Dear Beloved breathren preach the gospel in its purity But wee hope that the time will come when some off our Dear Breathren will move hear and some preachers that will teach the peopel the right way wee want some to move hear to spread the glad tidings of salvation and teach the peopel the necessity of observing the Commandments: that our Lord and master taught his desipels to observe But wee have a sivel neighbourgood and Clever freindly peopel hear a greadeal more so than i thought wee would find and some wishes verry much to hear the Breathren preach and wee still want you to send Brother george Bear out hear and their is so manny preachers Living in franklin County that one or the oather ought to Come out hear and Build up a Church hear Dear Brother and sister—verry lonesom and lost on that account our prayers is that the Lord will make evry thing right yet[15]

These Brethren moving to the West were also putting down more permanent roots by building meetinghouses. For example, there is a report in 1843 from the Harshbarger family in Montgomery County, Indiana: "I will now inform you that we are about to put up a Dunkard Meeting House on my land in Site of the old cornstock Meeting House. myself, Daniel Graybill, & William Byrd are the Trustees to conduct the building the house it is let for $500.00 it is to be frame 40 by 50 ft. Old Daniel Himes boys David & Daniel that once lived on Jacob Stoners land are the undertakers of the house they are to complete it by the first of September next we talked of building one for Several years at last I drew up an article for that purpose and now we will Succeed I expect."[16]

The Brethren on the Western frontier were not the only

ones building meetinghouses, however, for these years witnessed great activity in the more heavily settled Brethren areas in the East. Virginia provides an illustration, for in the years from 1820 to 1860 at least twenty-seven meetinghouses were erected by the Brethren, according to a recent study. The building of these meetinghouses was a very important aspect of the life of the Brethren during these years, for they "indicated that the Brethren had come to stay; one could sell his farm and move, but it was not as simple to sell a meetinghouse and leave. Somehow, this action planted one's roots more deeply in the community. These meetinghouses also helped to bind the Brethren more closely together, by giving them a piece of common property to which each had made his contribution. Thus, there was a new aura of permanence."[17]

A third major activity in which the Brethren were engaged during these years was evangelism. Unfortunately, the Brethren were not keeping any kind of statistical records at this time, as Philip Boyle, a Maryland elder, noted in the 1840's: "It would be a difficult task to give a regular statistical account of these people, as they make it no part of their duty to keep an exact account of the number of communicants."[18] However, regardless of what the total membership may have been and various evidence indicates that it was increasing, scattered bits of evidence clearly indicate that the Brethren were baptizing people. From the Harshbargers in Indiana came the report in 1852 that in the last year, "there was 19 added to the church by Baptism and one by recantation." Also, two of the ministers in the congregation had made an appointment to preach at Potato Creek, some twenty-four miles to the northeast, where "their will be 2 reformers baptised to our church."[19] These "reformers" were so-called because they were followers of the reform movement of Alexander Campbell. In addition, Samuel Harshbarger reported in 1861 that another of their local ministers, R. H. Miller, had an appointment in Putman County, eighteen miles from home, where he had already "baptised 7 in that neighborhood this last Summer and winter. The 2 last was baptised in December. The ice was cut 4 inches thick to baptise a man and his wife. . . . He baptised 3 methodist and one reformer there. . . . Now the Brethren in Putnam say there will be 5 applicants for baptism at their next meeting the 3rd Sunday in February, 3 of them Methodist and one reformer. How this is I do not know myself. The harvest is truly great, but the labourers few."[20]

One of the most important results of the Brethren evangelism was that a number of men were brought into the church from non-Brethren backgrounds who would eventually become

outstanding leaders in the church. The stories of four of these may be described briefly as case histories: Peter Nead, Henry Kurtz, James Quinter, and R. H. Miller. Let me briefly review Nead's background as a Lutheran and his experience as a Methodist lay preacher. His conversion to the Brethren was described in his extant diary which covered about a year from the summer of 1823 to the summer of 1824. Nead visited Daniel Arnold, a Brethren elder in Hampshire County, Virginia in July, 1823 and said: "I made known my business to him immediately. i told him i wanted to conform to the ordinances Christ church i therefore wanted to be baptised." Arnold was naturally suspicious of the intentions of this young Methodist preacher and suggested that they talk the following day with his brother, Samuel Arnold. The Arnolds concluded that "it was contrary to their order to baptise any person, until they had the council of the church," and that "there would be no meeting in the neighborhood for some time." Nead "could not conveniently Tarry," because he needed to continue his itinerant ministry, and so they separated. He could not forget about the Dunkers, however. In October, he attended a Dunker Love Feast in the Botetourt County congregations near Roanoke and reported that "to my great satisfaction it was performed according to the Scriptures." He was invited to speak, but since the hour was very late and "the people appeared to be very uneasy," he declined. The following April he recorded in his diary: "On this day I have entered into a covenant with my God, Wherein I do promise that I will endeavear by His assistance to be more faithful to Him, and Take up my Dayly cross of denying myself all ungodliness and worldly lust, liveing a Sober and godly life, and o may the Lord of infinite mercy Print this covenant on my heart, that I may not forget my vows but keep them in remembrance performing them, to the Glory and honor of His name to whom they are made—" The following June, he was baptized "in the Potomac River by Elder Daniel Arnold," and thus began a life of service with the Dunkers.[21]

Like Peter Nead, Henry Kurtz came from a Lutheran background. In fact, he had been a Lutheran pastor in Pittsburgh for several years before moving to northeastern Ohio about the end of the year, 1826. According to a recent article by Professor Durnbaugh, "It is not known precisely how Kurtz came in touch with the Brethren." He might have learned to know them during an earlier stay in eastern Pennsylvania. Now, in northeastern Ohio he came in contact with a Brethren elder named George Hoke, who convinced Kurtz to accept membership in the Brethren church and who baptized him on April 6, 1828. Durnbaugh con-

cluded that in the Brethren Kurtz "found a movement to which he could give his life, as the Dunkers' concern for disciplined church membership and conscious patterning of church practices after the life of the early Christian church incorporated the ideals for which he had been contending."[22]

Unlike Nead and Kurtz, who had belonged to other churches before becoming Brethren, James Quinter evidently had no particular church home before his conversion to Christ by the Brethren in his seventeenth year. At the time he was living near Phoenixville, which is in eastern Pennsylvania. The closest Brethren church was the Coventry congregation near Pottstown. However, the Brethren were very active in preaching in private homes and in schoolhouses covering a wide area. According to the account written by his daughter, Mary N. Quinter, "During a meeting held in the old Green Tree schoolhouse, he was convicted and his mind aroused upon the subject of his salvation. It engaged his thought deeply for a time, and one day as he was working in the barn he suddenly stopped, exclaiming, 'I've got— I've got it,' and ran to the house. 'I've got it—peace with God!' He was baptized in the Coventry Church."[23] Thirty years later, he personally recalled: "How distinctly do I remember the meeting in the old school-house not far from your residence where the bow, though "drawn at a venture,' sent arrows of conviction into my poor heart, which produced pain and sorrow from which I could find no relief, until I found it in the healing virtues contained in the stream which flowed from the pierced side of the dying Saviour. That same night, after the meeting alluded to, we stopped, as I well remember, at the Pilgrim's Rest, the homestead of Brother Umstad. Here we had further devotional services, for more besides myself felt very miserable on account of our sins, and the kind and zealous Christian friends knew it, and were willing to labor at a late hour of the night for our comfort and salvation. How solemn was that night to me, when journeying homeward along the romantic Schuylkill, alone, 'without Christ . . . having no hope and without God in the world.' Lonely and lost I indeed felt. . . . Here we found, I humbly trust, peace in believing, and experienced the power of God unto salvation."[24]

R. H. Miller's experience was like that of Quinter to the extent that neither had belonged to any other church before becoming Brethren. Miller had been born in Shelby County, Kentucky in a strong Baptist family. When he was seven years old, his family moved to Montgomery County, Indiana, and eventually in 1846 he married a girl from a strong Brethren family, Sarah Harshbarger, the daughter of Samuel Harshbarger, some

of whose letters have been quoted in this paper. However, the twenty-one-year-old Miller was in no hurry about joining any church, and it was not until 1858 that Miller and his wife were baptized as Brethren. Evidently, no account of Miller's conversion experience has been preserved. However, there is a record of his election to the ministry on August 16, 1858 in the Raccoon Creek congregation in Montgomery County, Indiana, signed by Hiel Hamilton, Matthias Frantz, Daniel Himes, and Wesley Burkett.[25] Miller's father-in-law, Samuel Harshbarger, reported three years later that "Robert Miller goes at the work like an old brother that has been at the work for 40 years preaching nearly evry Sunday, and to larg congregations generly."[26]

These four men, Nead, Kurtz, Quinter, and Miller, became outstanding in their contributions to the Brethren in the nineteenth century, because of their writing. Through their writing, they were helping to maintain communication among the Brethren and to defend the Brethren beliefs, which is the fourth major activity which the Brethren were engaged in the years from 1785 to 1860.

Peter Nead published the first book written in the English language by a Brethren minister in 1834 entitled *Primitive Christianity*. During the remainder of his life he wrote extensively, including several books and many articles; he was considered one of the outstanding defenders of the Brethren faith in a day and age when there was much controversy among the various religious groups concerning their distinctive beliefs.[27]

Henry Kurtz is best known among the Brethren for his establishment of the *Gospel Visitor* in 1851, a monthly magazine published for and in the interests of the Brethren. Although there was a lot of skepticism about the desirability of publishing such a journal, Kurtz had been in the church long enough to be well known and trusted and to have learned what would be acceptable and what would not. In the first issue, he pointed out that other denominations were publishing papers, "holding forth and defending their peculiar tenets. Popular errors and the most ingenious counterfeits of truth are brought to our very doors, and our children are charmed with the same." Therefore, he concluded: "Should we not use every means in our power, to counteract the evil tendencies of our time, and to labor in every possible way for the good of our fellowman, and for the glory of God and his truth as it is in Christ Jesus!" In addition to this argument, he stressed the need for better communication: "But we live too far apart. If one in his seeking after a more perfect knowledge becomes involved in difficulty, which he is unable to overcome, this paper opens unto him a channel, of stating his

difficulty, and we have not the least doubt, but among the many readers there will be some one, who has past the same difficult place, and can give such advice, as will satisfy the other."[28] By 1851 there was a need among the Brethren for a periodical of this type, and Kurtz' venture was successfully established.

James Quinter and R. H. Miller were two of the outstanding defenders of the Brethren faith in public debates, although most of that type of activity was being carried on after 1860. Miller, in particular, was noted for his carefully organized and logical thought which he brought to the Brethren from some limited previous training in the field of law. An appreciative insight into Miller's approach was written in 1861, only three years after he became Brethren, by his father-in-law, Samuel Harshbarger: "a reformer preacher wants Robert to preach on baptism he offered his meetinghouse to the brethren for that occasion . . . Robert is agoing to prove the Trine Immersion rite by history, then by Grammer, and then by Scripture that the forward motion is nearer rite than the backward motion. they think he cant. he will deceave them bad when they hear him. he is an able debater in Scripture."[29] Miller's biographer, Otho Winger, described nine different public debates in which Miller participated.[30] One of these with Daniel Sommer of the Disciples of Christ church was published as a book of 533 pages. Also, the basic ideas which he defended in these debates were set forth in a book entitled, *The Doctrine of the Brethren Defended*, which was circulated widely in a number of different editions.

In addition to the formal ways of communicating by means of the printed word in such papers as the *Gospel Visitor* and in such books as *The Doctrine of the Brethren Defended*, the Brethren were communicating more informally by means of the written word through correspondence. Quite a number of such letters are extant, usually preserved in small numbers by appreciative descendants. In a few cases, larger collections stretching over a period of years have been preserved; one of the best unutilized collections is the Bonsack collection which includes hundreds of items written to a family living in the Roanoke, Virginia area. Their relatives and friends lived in Maryland, in Tennessee, in Indiana, and in Iowa. This collection of personal correspondence provides an excellent piece of evidence of the way in which the Brethren were maintaining contact with each other across the long distances of the western frontier.

The Brethren were not only communicating by means of the written and printed word, they were also communicating in face-to-face contacts in a number of ways. At the national level, they were maintaing a practice first established in the eighteenth

century of holding Yearly or Annual Meetings. Even though the minutes of all of the years following the first recorded Meeting in 1778 are not extant, no one has questioned the idea that the Meetings were held annually. The evidence seems to indicate that an increasing number of Brethren were attending these Meetings, for one of the changes in procedure that had been adopted by 1860 was the transition from a pattern of pure democracy in which everyone present was involved to a pattern of representative democracy in which certain individuals were designated for certain responsibilities.

To cite a specific case, the Annual Meeting of 1851 was held in the Middle River congregation in Virginia. It is reported that much "local enthusiasm was generated in the process of entertaining the Meeting." Although these Brethren had built one of the earliest meetinghouses in Virginia in 1824 and had used locally-made brick, it was much too small for an Annual Meeting which convened in a large barn some forty by eighty feet. According to the best estimates, "at least one thousand Brethren were present and probably several thousand other people attended some part of the Meeting." Parts of the Brethren service, especially the Love Feast, attracted large numbers of curious people in those days. Finally, the personal and spiritual aspects of an Annual Meeting in the 1850's were demonstrated by the fact that eighteen people were converted by the preaching during the Meeting![31]

For the Brethren at the local level, some of whom could not attend the Annual Meetings regularly, the big event of the year was the Love Feast, which was held annually in most congregations. In some cases, these Love Feasts were almost regional in nature, rather than local, because Brethren came long distances to attend. Several reports from the Bonsack papers may be cited to demonstrate the importance of the meetings. From Indiana in 1839: "i will allso inform you that I wase at A sacrament down in putnam 10 mils her we went down Sunday morning and stad til monday it commenced on satterday an held til monday thare was fore preachers thar two myers that preached one miller and one garvar"[32] From Maryland in 1840: "Mother and myself was a few weaks since at a lovefeast in Washington County the other side of Bonsborow there was a great many people there I dont think I seen so maney preachers together since I was at the yearly meeting. Old br Daniel Garver was there and br John Cline and br Miller from virginia br John Price and br John Umstead from Pennsylvania. br emmert br Funk and the two br Longs and More br preachers I cannot mension. br Cline and br Price spake powerful, how we should

keep close to the word of God and should it be that we should have to suffer Death for our faith in Jesus that we should not give way for we would then be removd from this land of trial, to the mansion of Everlasting rest."[33] From Maryland in 1851: "I attended the lovefeast I saw a number of our friends & a little of everybody we had 10 strange preachers 2 of them where from Va. although I believe I cant remember their names they had a number of meetings around us & I think they have done some good in our neighbourhood."[34] From Indiana in 1853: "On the 25th of this month there will be a communion meeting in Owen County South of us 50 miles Brother John Metzger will be at our house on the 23rd to accompany the brethren down thare. the communion meeting commences on Dear Creek Carroll County the 11th October[,] the 13th on Bachellers run and on the 15th on wild cat with Brother John Metzgar, and on the 27th of Oct. at our meetinghouse on Cornstock."[35] And finally, from Indiana in 1859: "our communion meeting was on the 24th of October there was a large concourse of people hear Some thought not less than 3000 people hear we had meetings at 2 places in day time in the woods near the meeting Daniel Nahar, Jacob Flory & Jacob Wagoner Spoke to the people and in the Meeting house John Metsgar & John Shively Spoke. our Meeting house very much crowded at night we had excellent preaching hear thare was 20 add[itional] members from wild cat down with us. Some from Bachellors run church and Dear creak church above Delphi."[36] If the estimate of three thousand people present was anywhere close to accurate, then this Love Feast certainly supported the contention that these events were "regional" in nature. Certainly, aside from the large number attending, the Love Feasts played a vital role in holding the Brethren together during these years.

Before leaving the subject of the Love Feasts, something more might be said about the presence of non-Brethren visitors at these meetings. One such visitor at a Shenandoah County, Virginia, Love Feast in 1857 wrote a fascinating report to his girl friend. (Keep in mind the fact that the Brethren ate mutton at their Love Feasts at that time.) "[I have] been confined at home very closely, ever since I last wrote you, leaving once . . . to gratify a curiosity which I had of seeing the Tunkers partake of the passover, vis., lamb's soup—foot washing—holy kissing. Indeed it presents a solemn and an imposing scene for any one to behold & contemplate. However, I felt rather the worse of my trip. For they do not partake of the *passover* until sometime after night. Knowing this, I did not start to the meeting, nine miles distant until late in the evening, & not having the precaution to

sup at home I became so hungry by the time (12 o'clock) a general invitation was extended to the audience to partake of refreshments, that I made myself as much a *sheep* as the meat was *sheep* for I indulged by farr too freely. Our supper over, I mounted my horse & gave him the rein, as the cloudy sky & darkness of the night, made it impossible for me to see it. Tho I reached home in safety, I felt rather sleepy & Sheepy all the next day. Hence concluded to stay up all night & eat too much lamb's soup & mutton wasn't what it is cracked up to be."[37]

In conclusion, I hope that it is obvious by now that I do not believe that these years were the "Dark Ages" for the Brethren, as some previous writers have interpreted these years. As I stated in my introduction, I believe that each generation of historians has the responsibility of examining the work of past generations of historians; Professor Durnbaugh has done an excellent job of describing those interpretations. I believe that the present generation's interpretation should be based on a respectful consideration and a sympathetic understanding of what the Brethren were doing between 1785 and 1860. Given those prerequisites, I am convinced that we can see the Brethren of those years in the light of their struggle to expand the message of Christianity as the Brethren understood it into new areas at the same time that they were preserving the church where it had existed in the colonial period and to maintain the unity of the church at the same time by a program of evangelism and of communication.

During those years, the Brethren increased both in terms of the number of congregations and of the number of members, according to the scattered bits of evidence. The Brethren were expanding their witness to the truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and in the perspective of their goals they were succeeding. For the historian of the twentieth century, their accomplishments of the nineteenth century seem impressive.

FOOTNOTES

[1] John Clingingsmith, "Short Historical Sketch of the Far Western Brethren of the so-called Dunkard Church . . . ," typescript in the Historical Archives of the Church of the Brethren General Offices, Elgin, Illinois, page 3.

[2] David Barry Eller, "The Brethren Settlement Along Hinkson Creek: a study in Kentucky Church History," unpublished Master of Arts in Theology thesis, Bethany Theological Seminary, 1971, pages 8-9.

[3] J. H. Moore, *Some Brethren Pathfinders* (Elgin: Brethren Publishing House, 1929), pages 15-35.

⁴ Jacob Bower, "The Autobiography of Jacob Bower: A Frontier Baptist Preacher and Missionary," quoted in William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, The Baptists: 1783-1830* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1964), pages 185-199.

⁵ Jesse O. Garst, editor, *History of the Church of the Brethren of the Southern District of Ohio* (Dayton: The Otterbein Press, 1920), page 74.

⁶ T. S. Moherman, *A History of the Church of the Brethren— Northeastern Ohio* (Elgin: Brethren Publishing House, 1914), pages 18-19, 31-33.

⁷ Otho Winger, *History of the Church of the Brethren in Indiana* (Elgin: Brethren Publishing House, 1917), pages 59-60.

⁸ David Barry Eller, "Jacob Stutzman, Frontier Brethren Minister," paper presented to the Brethren Historian's Fellowship at the Annual Conference of 1972.

⁹ Madison Evans, *Biographical Sketches of the Pioneer Preachers of Indiana* (Philadelphia: J. Challen & Sons, 1862), pages 57-63.

¹⁰ *Ibid.,* page 32.

¹¹ Moore, *Some Brethren Pathfinders,* pages 64-72.

¹² Charles L. Wallis, editor, *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1956), pages 179-180.

¹³ Clingingsmith, "Far Western Brethren," pages 6-8.

¹⁴ K. O. Brubaker to "Dear Brother and Sister," Story County, Iowa, December 4, 1853, manuscript letter, Bonsack Papers, Manuscript Division, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, N.C. Used by permission.

¹⁵ Joseph and Catherine Brubaker to John and Susannah Bonsack, Story County, Iowa, August 20, 1854, manuscript letter, Bonsack Papers.

¹⁶ Samuel, Jr., and Elizabeth Harshbarger to John and Susan Bonsack, Sornstock Grove, Montgomery County, Indiana, August 27, 1843, manuscript letter, Bonsack Papers.

¹⁷ Roger E. Sappington, *The Brethren in Virginia* (Harrisonburg, Virginia: Printed for the Committee for Brethren History in Virginia by the Park View Press, 1973), page 57.

¹⁸ Philip Boyle, "History of the German Baptists, or Brethren," in I. D. Rupp, *Religious Denominations in the United States* (Philadelphia: J. Y. Humphreys, 1844), page 95.

¹⁹ Samuel and Elizabeth Harshbarger to John and Susan Bonsack, Cornstock, Montgomery County, Indiana, November 16, 1852, manuscript letter Bonsack Papers.

²⁰ Samuel and Elizabeth Harshbarger to David and Mary Plaine, Cornstock, Montgomery County, Indiana, January 21, 1861, manuscript letter, Bonsack Papers.

²¹ Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Vindicator of Primitive Christianity: The Life and Diary of Peter Nead," *Brethren Life and Thought,* XIV (Autumn, 1969), 201-222.

²² Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Henry Kurtz: Man of the Book," *Ohio History,* 76 (Summer, 1967), 122.

[23] Mary N. Quinter, *Life and Sermons of Elder James Quinter* (Mt. Morris, Illinois: Brethren's Publishing Co., 1891), pages 15-17.

[24] *Ibid.*, pages 20-21.

[25] Otho Winger, *The Life of Elder R. H. Miller* (Elgin: Brethren Publishing House, 1910), pages 16-20.

[26] Samuel and Elizabeth Harshbarger to David and Mary Plaine, Cornstock, Montgomery County, Indiana, January 21, 1861, manuscript letter, Bonsack Papers.

[27] Fred W. Benedict, "The Life and Work of Elder Peter Nead," *Brethren Life and Thought,* XIX, (Winter, 1974).

[28] Henry Kurtz, "Address to the Readers," *Gospel Visitor,* I (April, 1851) 1.

[29] Samuel and Elizabeth Harshbarger to David and Mary Plaine, Cornstock, Montgomery County, Indiana, January 21, 1861, manuscript letter, Bonsack Papers.

[30] Winger, *R. H. Miller,* pages 28-38.

[31] Sappington, *Brethren in Virginia,* page 47.

[32] Mary Noffsinger to Mary Bonsack, Putnam County, Indiana, September 8, 1839, manuscript letter, Bonsack Papers.

[33] Sophia Lightner to John and Susannah Bonsack, Pipe Creek, Maryland, July 12, 1840, manuscript letter, Bonsack Papers.

[34] M. C. Plaine to D. H. and M. Plaine, October 6, 1851, manuscript letter, Bonsack Papers.

[35] Samuel and Elizabeth Harshbarger to John and Susan Bonsack, Cornstock, Montgomery County, Indiana, September 15, 1853, manuscript letter, Bonsack Papers.

[36] *Ibid.*, November 6, 1858, manuscript letter, Bonsack Papers.

[37] A. G. Strayer to Bettie Ballow, New Market, Va., June 9, 1857, manuscript letter, John Winn and Philip James Papers, Manuscript Division, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, N.C. Used by permission.

Roots by the River

Marcus Miller

A STUDY of history, whether religious or secular, can be divided into three phases. The first is the gathering and classification of source material. The second is the interpretation of events as they occurred or as they seem to us to have occurred. The third is the application to everyday life or to the course of present day events, the lessons learned from our source material and our interpretation of past events.

The accumulation of historical data is at best incomplete because the events as they occurred were not recorded in their entirety and those which were recorded were recorded by a select and biased recorder. A further weakness is our interpretation of the more-or-less inadequate source material. Each of us here today views history by definition, retrospectively. Each of us has his own "retrospectoscope." Each of us is viewing the past through a retrospectoscope peculiar to itself—with its own parallax and refractive error. I, therefore, make no apology for my interpretation of historical events as I see them. Astigmatism, that is the structural imperfection of the eye which causes us to perceive an indistinct image, is almost universal and there is probably not one of us here less astigmatic than the rest. If there is anything to be gained, therefore, from a "sharing—working" seminar such as this it will be to the extent that we as individuals are able to complement for one another the imperfect image of Church history which each of us now holds.

For my own part I have turned my own retrospectoscope on the Miami Valley of Ohio since that is where my greatest interest lies at the present time. While this Valley is quite small geographically, the importance that it assumes historically is by no means insignificant. The Church in the Valley before 1800 was non-existent. The seeds were sown by pioneer Brethren from Virginia, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina and the tree which resulted in the intervening one hundred-seventy-five years has suffered a few storms. Let us investigate the roots nurtured by this river from 1800 to 1860.

Until August 3, 1795—the date of the Treaty of Greene Ville—the Miami Valley of Ohio was not open to settlement by the white man. The Ohio country was wild and forbidding territory inhabited by Indians and overgrown by dense forests. It was, however, very alluring to many people including the Brethren. Land in this territory after it was open to settlement was inexpensive. There was an extensive system of rivers and tributaries which facilitated water transportation. The soil was fertile and excellent for agriculture requiring only the clearing of trees. To the Brethren it offered a haven ideal for their wants following the Revolutionary War.

In Europe the Brethren suffered greatly for their beliefs risking life and property for the Faith that was launched in Schwarzenau in 1708. It was for this reason that they very early sought refuge in the colonies where for several years they were free from the persecution they knew in Europe. The membership spread into the wilderness of eastern Pennsylvania and enjoyed peace for nearly fifty years. However, in 1776 the War for Independence threatened this peace-loving people. They sought only tranquility and freedom from intervention in worship and seemed to be willing to receive this either under the protection of the King of England or under the colonies. In order to assure internal loyalty some of the colonies, notably Pennsylvania, required an oath of allegiance of all its citizens. The Brethren were not only opposed to all oaths but were anxious to stand aloof from the rebellion and therefore were at odds with the colonial government. We are familiar with the abuses suffered by Elder Christopher Sauer at the hands of the colonial armies[1] and others were also threatened for their refusal to sign the oath of allegiance. The migration of Elder John Garber and Elder Jacob Miller into the Valleys of Virginia in 1776-1777 may have been prompted by the greater religious freedom offered there.

When the war came to an end in 1783 the Brethren had again suffered a taste of that for which their fathers and grandfathers had braved the Atlantic to escape. With the memory of persecution in Europe and in the Colonies fresh in their minds they turned their hopes toward the wilderness territory beyond the Appalachians. The Northwest Territory and the Ohio Country was a vast forested uninhabited wilderness. It promised no great wealth. There was no particular inclination among the Brethren to proselytize the Indians. There was not yet a population to justify any missionary movement. It seems that the chief motive for settlement in the Ohio Country was the relative protection which its isolation offered and the ample inexpensive land suitable for agriculture.

Looking back to the opening of the wilderness we find that several exploratory expeditions were sent into the Miami Valley of Ohio before and after the Revolutionary War to open the wilderness valley to settlement. Celeron in 1749, Henry Bird in 1780 and George Rogers Clark in 1780 all led unsuccessful expeditions against the Indians in the Valley. General Clark met some success in 1782 but General Harmer in 1790 and General Arthur St. Clair in 1791 again met defeat. It was not until President Washington in 1792 appointed General Anthony Wayne to rid the Northwest Territory of the Indian menace that the Miami Valley of Ohio was made safe for habitation by the white man. In 1794 General Wayne made a two-pronged thrust from Fort Washington (Cincinnati) up the east branch of the Great Miami River and its west branch called the Stillwater. His men portaged to the Auglaize and St. Marys Rivers and down the Maumee to fight a decisive battle against the Indians at Fallen Timbers on the Maumee above Toledo. The following year on August 3, 1795 the Treaty of Greene Ville was signed and the Northwest Territory was opened to settlement.

In the process of so many military expeditions there were several wilderness roads developed through the Miami Valley and these soon became arteries by which settlers from the East landing at Cincinnati could reach the headwaters and tributaries of the Great Miami River. And so homes and villages soon sprang up throughout the valley. Internal travel in the Valley was facilitated both by these crude roads and the ample rivers and streams.

The Brethren were among the first to settle in the Valley. Already before 1795 there were Brethren in the Northwest Territory for in that year the Stonelick Church was organized in Clermont County on the Ohio River. By 1800 Elder Jacob Miller of Virginia settled at the present site of Dayton, Ohio when this village consisted of nine houses. By 1816 Brethren had branched out along the upper tributaries of the Miami and soon thereafter there were congregations at Lower Miami, Upper Miami, Lower Stillwater, Stillwater (Covington), Upper Stillwater, Bear Creek, Wolf Creek, Salem, Twin Creek, and thus the Valley was settled.

In this day of travel it is impossible for us to visualize the isolation of settlers in the wilderness of the early 1800's. Until the Cumberland Road was completed into the Valley early in the 1840's there was virtually no practical way of entering this area of the wilderness except by flatboat to Cincinnati. The trails through the forest were not improved until after 1839. So while travel was free throughout the Valley by flatboat on the tributaries or by horseback on the unimproved roads, communication

with the outside world was limited. Even the Miami and Erie Canal was not completed from Cincinnati to Piqua until 1836 and the railroad was not extended into the Upper Miami Valley until after 1850.

An understanding of conditions in the Miami Valley of Ohio is essential to a study of the Brethren as a whole as we meet to explore the seventy-five years under consideration—that is 1785 to 1860. It is immeasurably important to an understanding of Brethren history during the twenty years which followed—that is 1860 to 1881. I believe that later day historians have been sadly mistaken in the interpretation of the events of that later twenty years because they failed to understand the importance of an isolated subculture of Brethrenism which we shall hereafter speak of as an entity of itself and later further define in greater detail. Let this subculture from here on be called the Miami Valley Brethren. There were other similar examples of isolation, notably the Far Western Brethren of Kentucky and Illinois.

A clone is a biological term representing a strain of cells descending in culture from a single cell. The members of a clone are identical in character with one another. To this definition let me add that a clone may, after a period of isolation in a system, differ from other cells growing independently from the clone but derived from the original strain.

If we borrow this biological term and apply it to our study of Brethren history it will be represented thus: In about 1800 a small group of Brethren removed from the mainstream of Church life east of the Appalachians and transplanted to an isolated wilderness valley and continued to grow with little influence from the Brethren elsewhere. They brought with them whatever doctrinal teachings and individual interpretations they chanced to possess and with relatively free communication among themselves they grew "in culture" and became, more or less, an independent community of themselves. The "Miami Valley Brethren" became a community, the members of which were "identical" or nearly so in character and a certain autonomy developed in the Valley which both set it apart as a subculture in the Brethren Community taken as a whole and made it a nidus about which developed the pearl (excuse the metaphor) of Old Orderism.

Homeostasis is another biological term which is defined as a tendency to uniformity or stability in the normal body states (internal environment) of an organism. Again, let us borrow this term and apply it to conditions in the Miami Valley of Ohio as they developed during the period from 1800 to 1860. In order to make this application we will have to study the system of

church government in the Early Brethren community and see how it was adapted to the needs and necessities of the Miami Valley of Ohio. But before we go to that, by 1850 the Miami Valley Brethren had developed as a clone, so to speak, with a remarkable homeostatic balance and a highly sophisticated form of internal self-government. This was based on primitive Brethrenism, which they had brought with them from the East, and apart from but subordinated to the Brotherhood as a whole, namely the Annual Meeting. By 1860 this homeostasis had been significantly affected by influences from outside the Valley and as we shall see, the Brethrenism of the Miami Valley was such that a counter-reaction was inevitable.

The Annual Meeting as it was conducted from its earliest recorded observance and from the later writings of such historians as Elder Henry Kurtz was very simply a meeting of the Elders of various areas throughout the Brotherhood.[2] It was like an ordinary council meeting. Business and questions were presented to the Elders and questions asked and the Elders, meeting under the influence of the Holy Spirit, formed answers which they gave verbally and in important cases answered by letter to the congregation submitting the question or to the Brotherhood as a whole. As the attendance grew at this "Great Meeting" we are told by Elder Henry Kurtz that a few of the oldest Elders would withdraw to privacy and consider the queries so that business need not be aired before the whole Church and before strangers. This was the practice of the Brethren until 1830 or 1831.

In the 1813 records, Article 3, we read, "It has been also again requested of, and counselled by the old brethren, that the great (annual) meeting should be continued in the order as it has been heretofore declared and laid down by the old brethren. . . ."[3] There was no end to the damage done when the German "Die Eltern" was translated to the English "the old brethren". "Die Eltern" were considered in highest respect as the Fathers in the Faith. The old brethren came in later decades to be held in derision. At any rate when the Brethren moved their possessions down the Ohio River by flatboat to Cincinnati and up the Great Miami to its headwaters they brought with them a high regard for "Die Eltern", the Elders, the old brethren. Along with this respect they brought a system of church government in which "Die Eltern" met and after prayer and exhortation and under the influence of the Holy Ghost considered questions of importance to the Church. This was the goverment they brought to the Miami Valley and this was the government among the Miami Valley Brethren as long as it remained an autonomous

entity functioning more or less independently of outside influences. The "adjoining Elders" were consulted when the local congregation could not settle a matter itself. There was freedom of travel among the Elders of the Valley from the Lower Miami District to the Upper Stillwater District and from Donnels Creek to Twin Creek. Even as late as 1880 an Elders meeting was considered second in authority only to the Annual Meeting,[4] even by such as Elder R. H. Miller. So, although "the old brethren" came to be known as a term of derision, it was not so in the Miami Valley from 1800 to 1860.

We would submit, then, that the process of church government practiced in the Miami Valley of Ohio up to 1860 was a more or less pure form of that which prevailed in the earliest Brethren community. The early Annual Meetings appeared to be a consultation of Elders. Questions of doctrinal importance could be addressed to this meeting from individuals or local congregations. It also seems that local congregations could request or invite a Committee of Elders to come to the home Church to assist it in settling troublesome questions. We refer to the work of Brumbaugh and his record of such a committee at the Germantown Congregation in 1791.[5] Doubtless this was not at all an isolated practice nor was the Germantown Committee the first. That this was acceptable practice in the early Church is attested to by the fact that the Miami Valley Brethren brought the practice with them to the wilderness. In 1811 the Miami Valley Brethren requested a committee of Elders from Virginia to settle a problem which had arisen in the Valley and the result seemed satisfactory to all.[6] It was not until 1849 that we have a record of the Annual Meeting *sending* a committee[7] apparently without request.

The Miami Valley Brethren continued this form of church government (i.e. the consultation among Elders) throughout the period we have under consideration. They considered it to be the most primitive form of Brethren church government and based it on Acts 15:2: "When therefore Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and disputation with them (certain men which came down from Judaea), they determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem unto the Apostles and Elders about this question".

It seems that the spirit of early Brethrenism learned in Pennsylvania and Virginia continued to thrive in the Miami Valley until 1850. Soon thereafter, however, this spirit came under severe trial as we shall subsequently see.

Among the Early Brethren unity throughout the Brother-

hood was considered essential. Any influence which interfered with harmony among the believers was to be abhorred. When something appeared to be amiss, the Church was questioned as to the right way. The Church met in general Brotherhood Council yearly to seek an agreement on scriptural interpretation or, in the absence of specific scripture, it sought a course consistent with the tenor of the Scripture. At any rate early records repeatedly stated, "The Church in union agrees . . ."; "It has been concluded in union . . ."; "It has been unanimously concluded . . ."; "Inasmuch we deem it our duty, obligation, and office to see to it that union, tranquility, and peace be maintained, that all should be united and of one mind . . ."; "It was in union concluded . . ."; "It has unanimously been deemed good . . .". When someone disagreed with the unanimous consent of the Church as it interpreted the scripture and could not convince the Church by evidence from the Holy Scripture[8], he was excommunicated either by the ban or by being set out of communion and the fellowship of the kiss. This was the Faith of the Early Brethren that was brought to the wilderness of the Miami Valley in 1800 and the Miami Valley Brethren were able to maintain this Faith throughout the Valley as late as 1850.

When, subsequent to 1850, communication among the various Brethren subcultures improved, and as travel over the improved roads and turnpikes became more free, and especially when Brethren publications began to enter the homes, it was discovered that the unity and restraint enjoyed in this Valley was not shared throughout the Brotherhood, and that while unity prevailed in the Valley it did not prevail in the Brotherhood. That any major break in Church unity should exist, came, we suspect, as somewhat of a shock to the Miami Valley Brethren. For if unity did not exist in the Brotherhood could it be maintained in the Valley? To be sure, it was to become more and more difficult to maintain unity in the Valley and as a deterioration of unity developed among the congregations of the Valley a massive effort to maintain the unity established by the Early Brethren was inevitable.

Having, then, outlined the form of church government as well as the unyielding emphasis on unity and unanimity religiously maintained by the Miami Valley Brethren, let us look to some specific circumstances which began to cloud the tranquility which prevailed in the Valley in 1850. We shall try to limit our remarks to the decade following 1850. It is unnecessary to go further for we are all familiar with the events of the following two decades and furthermore, virtually all the issues had presented themselves by the year 1860.

Let us look first to one John Cadwallader of Newton Township, Miami County, Ohio. It is by no means our intention to malign this Elder. On the contrary, we feel that his contributions have been overlooked by Brethren historians in their study of nineteenth century Brethrenism. If nothing else, he may be considered the father of the Progressive Movement, for while he did not see the day, his Congregational Brethren Church of Pleasant Hill was already a viable organization six years old when the Progressive Brethren separated from the body in 1882.[9]

Elder John Cadwallader was born in Virginia in 1799, moved to Highland and Adams County, Ohio in later years, and preached for the first time in the Miami Valley early in the 1850's.[10] We wish we knew more of his background and of his doctrinal development. At any rate he exerted great influence on his hearers at Sugar Grove and they influenced him to move to the Valley in 1854. His teachings were at odds with those of the other Elders of the Valley. Rather than holding to unity and the intercongregational accord enjoyed in the Valley at the time, Elder Cadwallader taught congregational autonomy. There were other points leading to discord, but let us pursue this a little further. When an individual, official or congregation was out of line it became the "duty, obligation, and office" of the joining Elders to see to it that "union, tranquility and peace be maintained, that all should be united and of one mind".[11] This was the practice of the early Church and of the housekeepers in the Miami Valley. It fell the duty, therefore, of Elder Peter Nead of Lower Stillwater, Elder David Bowman Jr. of Bear Creek, Elder John Darst of Lost Creek and Elder John Cable of Upper Stillwater to maintain peace in this section of the Valley. Elder Cadwallader would not hear the counsel of his colaborers in the office and was placed out of fellowship. He had gained the following of approximately one hundred sympathizers who were also disfellowshipped with him. A committee from the Annual Meeting[12] attempted to restore peace to the Valley and Elder Cadwallader and his followers were restored to fellowship and the Covington Congregation was divided to form the Newton Church with Elder Cadwallader in charge. The subsequent events are outside the temporal scope of this seminar and therefore we will not pursue them; however, the seeds of dissension had been sown, the restraining discipline of the Valley had been severely tested for the first time, and the first clouds of schism had appeared upon the horizon. Under the form of church government prevalent in the Miami Valley at the time it would seem that there was no alternative course for Elder Peter Nead and his colaborers to take.

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Let us investigate some more specific doctrinal points. A Sunday School was organized in John Cadwallader's Church in 1856, the first west of the Allegheny mountains.[13] Sunday Schools were previously barred from the Church[14] and, indeed, were not sanctioned by the Annual Meeting until 1857—"if conducted in Gospel order"—but no one could find scripture outlining the gospel order for Sunday Schools.[15] This form of religious education was totally foreign to the Brethren in the Miami Valley. The first Brethren Sunday School was said to have been held in the Germantown Church starting in 1735. However, both Martin Brumbaugh[16] and *The History of the Brethren in Eastern Pennsylvania*[17] point out that those so-called Sunday Schools were the pernicious work of the Ephrata community and promoted Conrad Beissel's doctrine of celibacy and Stephen Koch's experiences of ecstatic visions and apparitions. Those so-called Sunday Schools caused no end of damage at Germantown and it is no wonder then that the immigrants to the Miami Valley were unyielding in their stand against anything resembling Beissel's "Sunday School". The fact that this first Sunday School was in Elder Cadwallader's Church offered nothing in favor of the institution. And finally religious teaching in the wilderness had heretofore been obtained in the crude log cabin before the open fire where Father or Mother read from the worn Bible and the family sang from Sauer's *Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel*. The first crude log meeting house in the Upper Valley was not built until 1840 and was itself considered a step away from the simplicity of the home or the wilderness clearing with heaven for a canopy. How could a Sunday School replace the lessons learned at a saintly mother's knee?

Several points of doctrinal dispute relating to the ordinances arose in the later years of our seventy-five year period. Not the least of these was the dispute over the double and single mode of feetwashing. The Miami Valley Brethren apparently brought from Virginia and Pennsylvania the double mode and they practiced it without question throughout the first half of the century. This was characteristic of this particular clone. Somewhere back there, some other clone in some other Valley practiced the single mode. Isaac Studebaker of the Lost Creek Church is said to have claimed for himself the credit of introducing the single mode into the Valley.[18] We suspect that this was even after 1860. Nevertheless, the same pressures were brought to bear in the Valley in an attempt to maintain the peace and tranquility which had prevailed before this variation was introduced.

Let us look now to education. Before 1826 there was no free public school in the State of Ohio. Before about 1855 there was

no high school in Miami County. Miami University founded in 1809 had little to offer which would be practical in the wilderness along the Miami and Stillwater Rivers. In a university at that time the education was classical—Arts, Law and Latin. In the wilderness men lived by the axe, the flintlock and the mattock. It was no wonder at all, then, that the question was asked the Annual Meeting in 1831, "Whether it was considered advisable for a member to have his son educated in a college? Considered not advisable, inasmuch as experience has taught that such very seldom will come back afterward to humble ways of the Lord".[19]

After 1850 there appeared more and more discussion about Brethren's schools. Henry Kurtz and James Quinter especially began writing along these lines. Virtually all the Brethren of note were opposed to education in the public schools. Henry Kurtz and James Quinter were among the strongest opponents of education in public schools or those sponsored by other religious faiths.[20] Their solution was Brethren sponsored schools in order to keep Brethren children under Brethren influence. In some sections there was opposition to the schools proposed by Kurtz and Quinter and many have supposed that the opposition was on the basis of education per se. We believe the interpretation is in error. We would submit, rather that the opposition was to Brethren's schools per se and not to education per se.[21] The Miami Valley Brethren were among the leading opponents of Brethren schools. Why? Let us disgress to a study of the Brethren ministry as it was instituted by the early Brethren and maintained by the Miami Valley Brethren.

The ministerial body of the early Brethren was unsalaried and in most cases plural. This prevailed in Europe, in Germantown and in the Miami Valley of Ohio. All precautions were taken to discourage any minister from becoming elevated by pride. An Elder was expected to rule his house only with the counsel or sanction of his peers. This is what maintained the uniformity of practice in the Miami Valley and up to a point in time, in the Brotherhood. The Brethren were expected to preach under the influence of the Holy Spirit and to please God. He who pays the piper calls the tune and a salaried minister was considered likely to preach what would please his congregation, since it was the congregation which paid the salary. Now let us return to the Brethren's schools which began to be proposed just prior to 1860.

It was the feeling of many of the Brethren that the proposed Brethren academies would cultivate or create the desire for an educated ministry which would preach, not under the influence of the Spirit, but, for hire. They then envisaged not only a salaried ministry but also a solitary ministry (as opposed to the

plural). They believed these to be contrary to Holy Scripture and careful study of the wording of the subsequent petitions and resolutions will confirm that this was the reason for the adamant stand of the Miami Valley Brethren and not education per se as has been supposed.[22]

There were a few other details that set the Miami Valley Brethren apart from their Brethren on the eastern seaboard and led to a certain uncompromising autonomy. Let us take for example Article 8 of the Annual Meeting Minutes of 1827: "How is it considered to lay carpets in (our) houses? It is considered, that it belongs to the grandeur (highness) of this world, and that it will not become a follower of Jesus to garnish his house in this manner, but rather that he should adorn his house as may be consistent with lowliness."[23] This meeting was held, of course, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, but the decision could not be more consistent with life in the Miami Valley. Life in the wilderness was often meager, sometimes dangerous and always austere. Remember that this carpet was made, of necessity, on the eastern coast or perhaps even in Europe. After reaching the market it was carried by conestoga wagon across the Alleghenies to Pittsburg and thence by flatboat to Cincinnati. From here it was packed by horse or by wagon to a merchant in Dayton or perhaps it was purchased directly from Cincinnati by a pioneer from the Upper Valley. But consider also that this fine carpet must be laid on the bare dirt floor in 1827 where rain may seep and snow might sift in through the unchinked cracks. Wall to wall carpet? They didn't even have wall to wall floor!

And so the austerity of the wilderness life bred an asceticism among the Miami Valley Brethren, pervasive and stedfast, which was to fix and to foreordain the course which they were to take even after some of the discomforts of the wilderness had been overcome. In 1860, the end of our seventy-five year period of study, we find a subculture of Brethren life still believing that a higher spiritual state can be obtained by rigorous self-discipline and self-denial and still attempting to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace. And, in a word, that seems to be a good definition of Schwarzenau Brethrenism.

Let us turn now to a little armchair psychosocial analysis of our German ancestory. We will look first to the leaders in Brethrenism in the time surrounding 1700 and then to their spiritual offspring, the pioneer settlers of the Northwest Territory and the Miami Valley of Ohio.

The Teutonic peoples were not so culturally refined nor socially sophisticated, we are told, as the Greeks, for instance. Some would even class them as but a step or two above barbar-

ism. From the Teutonics arose the Germanic peoples and their contributions to the world as we know it today have not been insignificant. While the Mediterranean cultures are noted for their contributions in art, government, literature and religion, the Germanic peoples have contributed more notably to science and technology. Their meticulous attention to scientific method, their careful documentation of fact, and their inclination to demand scientific proof of theory have been characteristic. They are individualists and nationalists. They are aften inflexible and dogmatic. When taken up by a cause they are often zealous or even fanatical. The term "stubborn German" is not a mere stereotype.

The Mediterraneans were men of ideas and philosophies. They expressed themselves in the arts and architecture and most of the great religions are Mediterranean or Oriental. On the other hand, even the German philosophers were scientific in their thought.

It follows, therefore, that when Christianity came to Europe and was introduced among the German peoples it became somewhat flavored by their particular cultural viewpoints. It was, perhaps, no accident that Protestantism was a German contribution. Martin Luther was a German thinker and his theology was inconsistent with that of Rome. Moreover, German religious turmoil was already well on its way to a Reformation when Luther nailed his 95 theses to the cathedral door in 1517. A short while later another German Catholic priest, the Very Reverend Monsignor Menno Simons led another group in another direction. Finally, in 1708 we have recorded the culmination of yet another religious movement when eight souls stepped forward to declare that all established religions of the day were in error and that by individual study and through personal revelation they had concluded that the Word of God should be observed in a particular way. It appears that the Schwarzenau Brethren were dogmatic, inflexible, zealous and unyielding. They were willing to risk life and property for their devotion to the teachings of Jesus Christ and of the Apostolic Church as they understood them. And more than this, they were willing to serve time for God at hard labor on the slave galley or in the dungeons of Dusseldorf. To avoid persecution they were willing to brave great hardships in the crossing of the Atlantic to settle in a wild and sometimes unfriendly land, struggling the while to maintain their Germanic identity and their Christian integrity.

Now let us return to the Miami Valley Brethren. All that we have said still held true in 1800 when Jacob Miller, Michael Etter, David Deeter, John Cable, David Bowman, Christian

Frantz and all the rest came to the Valley. After all, the Miami Valley was only one hundred years from Schwarzenau. Their iron wills ruled also their interpretation of Bible principles and their adamant characters were very nearly impervious to change. After all, if these principles—that is 1) the government of a consulting eldership, 2) the fellowship of unity, 3) non-conformity to the world as they understood the world to consist, and 4) the attainment of a higher spiritual state through self-denial and self-discipline—had been laid down by Christ and the Apostles and perpetuated by the early and the latter Church, the Germanic mentality could see no need for change.

Now let's extend our armchair psychosocial analysis to that subject of change: Remember were not talking now about issues which later divided the Church. We are talking about the qualities which characterized a people both past and present day. It is a psychological social fact that some people adapt better to change than others. The rigid and inflexible must maintain stability at any cost. The flexible and pliable can frequently adapt to change or, if you will, succumb to change even to such an extent as to be pathologic. Many an institution has been destroyed because of its own instability and through no particular organized effort from without. When an institution no longer zealously maintains its integrity, decadence results. Whether it be in the scientific community, in the medical profession, in the Church or in any other institution, something new is not always better, nor is change always progress. I am not speaking now about the issues which later divided the German Baptist Brethren Church. I'm speaking about the psychologic and social characteristics and thinking of the German pioneers in the Miami Valley of Ohio and elsewhere and of their predecessors in Germany.

Now, what can we draw from this study? First, we have pointed briefly to the fact that a retrospective analysis of history is unavoidably, doubly biased—both in the recording of the events and in our analysis of the source material. We have then reviewed the history of a Brethren subculture which we ourselves have studied and the history of which we have recently summarized in a book *Roots by the River*. Then we have entered into some psychological and social analysis of our German forebears and related it to their inflexibility and resistance to change in the absence of scriptural foundation. And, finally, we leave to the hearer that third part of an historical study: that is, the application to everyday life or to the course of present day events, the lessons learned from our source material and our interpretation of past events.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Donald F. Durnbaugh, *The Brethren in Colonial America* (Elgin, IL: The Brethren Press, 1967), pp. 400-405.

[2] Henry Kurtz, "The Annual Meeting," *The Brethren's Encyclopedia* (Published by the author, 1867), pp. 9-16.

[3] H. D. Davy and J. Quinter, *Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Brethren* (Covington, OH: Little Printing Company, Reprint, 1956), Art. 3., p. 42.

[4] "Report of the Proceedings of the Brethren's Annual Meeting of 1880" (Huntingdon, PA: Quinter and Brumbaugh Bros., 1880) pp. 73-74.

[5] Martin Grove Brumbaugh, *A History of the Brethren* (Mt. Morris, IL: Brethren Publishing House, 1899), pp. 504-506.

[6] Jesse O. Garst, *History of the Church of the Brethren in the Southern District of Ohio* (Dayton, OH: The Otterbein Press, 1921), pp. 77-78.

[7] Davy and Quinter, *Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Brethren* Art. 15., p. 135.

[8] Davy and Quinter, Minutes 1805, Art. 2, p. 37.

[9] *History of Miami County, Ohio* (Chicago, IL: W. H. Beers and Co., 1880), p. 370.

[10] Jesse O. Garst, pp. 205-207.

[11] Davy and Quinter, Art. 1., p. 14.

[12] Davy and Quinter, Art. 35., p. 20.

[13] Jesse O. Garst, p. 207.

[14] Davy and Quinter, Art. 10., p. 83.

[15] Davy and Quinter, Art. 11., p. 204.

[16] Martin Grvoe Brumbaugh, p. 179.

[17] *History of the Church of the Brethren of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, PA: The New Era Printing Co.), p. 69.

[18] Jesse O. Garst, p. 576.

[19] Davy and Quinter, Art. 1., p. 69.

[20] James Quinter, "Letter to *The Visitor*," March 1856, in Mary N. Quinter, *Life and Sermons of Elder James Quinter* (Mt. Morris, IL: Brethren's Publishing Company, 1891), pp. 36-38.

[21] "A Petition from the Elders of the Miami Valley to the District Meeting of Southern Ohio, for the Annual Meeting of 1880." Davy and Quinter, Appendix.

[22] Ibid.

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The Developing Thought and Theology of the Brethren—1785-1860

Dale W. Brown

THESE years, the so-called wilderness period, have been frequently characterized in Brethren historiography as a time of sterile anti-intellectualism and isolation resulting from the withdrawal of the Brethren from the cultural milieu and literacy activity of the colonial period. Current reassessments of these decades are revealing that the evangelistic fervor and great missionary expansion of the pioneer Brethren was accompanied by a surprising amount of theological writing. It is true that some of the chief apologists such as Peter Nead, Henry Kurtz, and William Thurman were converts from other denominational traditions. Their contributions, however, can be attributed to the dynamic expansion of the movement as logically as to any intellectual famine in the fraternity. We need more research in interpreting the documents of the period and in analyzing the theology of the hymnody and minutes before becoming too definite in any final assessment. After reading Peter Bowman, John Kline, Peter Nead, James Quinter, William Thurman, and Henry Kurtz, I offer some tentative judgments. The following topics have emerged, arbitrarily in line with my interests, from my reading in the literature of this period.

Unity

One of the recurring motifs was the theme of unity. This emphasis on unity was expressed in the minutes of the Big Meeting (one of their favorite names for the annual meeting) in 1815. "For the Lord Jesus and the apostles teach us that we should be one, of one mind, speak the same thing, and that there should be no division among us: and to this end we also labor to be obedient to the gospel of Jesus by the grace of God."[1] Henry Kurtz in his introduction to *The Brethren's Encyclopedia* defines the purpose of the annual gathering as follows: "In fact, we may say, every Yearly Meeting was a solemn act of renewing our covenant, into which each one of us had entered. . . ."[2]

The desire for unity manifested itself in a remarkable maintenance of unity during the years which experienced a language change and widespread geographical expansion across an expanding continent. Floyd Mallott always felt that it was a miracle that the transformation from a German speaking to an English speaking people occurred without producing a major schism. It would be intriguing to know at which Yearly Meeting English became the primary vehicle of communication. A clue as to the time of transition can be garnered from a careful examination of the Yearly Meeting minutes of 1841 and 1845. In 1841 the query asked whether it was "proper for teachers to speak both German and English in meetings, when there are only a few English members, the majority of the church being German." The answer defended the bilingual practice by stating: "Considered, that it is right and our duty to preach the gospel to every nation as far as we are able. . . ." But the conference added: "yet so that in such a case not too much time ought to be taken up in English." By 1845 a similar query did not assume the German majority. The first part of the answer was nearly identical with a slight change in emphasis: "to preach the gospel to *all* nations, and in every tongue as far as we are able."[3] The second phrase, which warns against taking up too much time in English, was omitted altogether. It is not surprising that the most outstanding itinerant preachers and evangelists such as John Kline were bilingual.

Most of the schisms of these decades were small and local. The Church of God, the Congregational Brethren, the Leedy Brethren, the Bowman Brethren, and the Honites represented minor fractures in the unity of the brotherhood. The most major threat to unity revolved around the differences with the Far Western Brethren. Some of the latter had questioned the reality of such a being as the devil. Many such as the pioneer Illinois preacher, George Wolfe, espoused universal restoration, which was often interpreted as universal salvation by others. Concerning the ordinances, Wolfe and the Far Western Brethren preferred the single mode of feet-washing to the double mode and opposed the break in time between the eating of the supper and the breaking of bread. Most of these differences were successfully resolved by the Annual Meetings of 1856 and 1859. For example the Far Western Brethren were allowed to retain the single mode while they agreed to conform to the practice of the Brethren in general when in communion with them. The division was healed with the acknowledgment of full fellowship.

Although the schisms were minor, there are many indications that the loss by exodus during this period may have been

greater than Brethren historians have realized. Recent studies by John Davenport and David Eller[4] have revealed large defections (the context of the Honite schism mentioned above) of Brethren to the expanding Campbellite movement (the Disciples of Christ) and other groups in Kentucky, southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Such might be attributed both to the rigidity of the Yearly Meeting as well as a certain inevitable acculturation accompanying the frontier experience.

The theology of unity from this period can be deducted from the ecclesiological judgments about the status of the minutes of the Yearly Meetings. When compiling topical arrangements of the minutes for his encyclopedia, Henry Kurtz in his introductory address theologizes about the meaning of the minutes, which he called "The United Counsels and Conclusions of the Brethren" (his book subtitle). He opposes one view in the church by emphasizing that they are not binding laws or rules legislated for the governing of others. We find the perfect law only in Christ and his teachings. Neither will he accept the antithesis of the above view by regarding the decisions as mere vain traditions of men. The traditions of our Christian Elders tend to help our obedience to the law of Christ and protect us from the vain traditions of men. If the minutes constitute neither laws, nor vain traditions, what are they? Kurtz appropriates the analogies of the court process with the jury and parties making treaties of peace to point to the necessity of periodically coming to collective judgments in order to be reconciled and to renew the covenant, which each one has made at the time of baptism.[5]

The refusal to treat the decisions as absolutely binding at the same time they are to be regarded with great respect creates the ambiguity which seems to have always been present in Brethren polity. One minute from the big meeting of 1842 goes a long way in substantiating this ambiguity. The query raised the issue: "Whether the church has the right to make resolutions framed by men, binding on members." The answer seems right but not helpful in any ultimate resolution of the tension. It stated: "If the resolutions are founded upon and in accordance with the gospel to which we are all bound, they are binding; but if they are not according and even contrary to the gospel, we can not be bound to observe them, and no church can make them binding."[6] It is my thesis that there had developed by the end of our period of study a greater polarity in terms of attitudes toward the decisions than had existed at the beginning. By the middle of the century the polarity as articulated by Kurtz was pronounced enough to nourish the seeds which were to erupt in the major schisms of the last half of the nineteenth century.

Floyd Mallott often decribed Brethren thought in the nineteenth century as being evangelical and legalistic in contradistinction to the more mystical and pietistic accents of the eighteenth century and the institutional and rationalistic leanings of the twentieth. Though such theological periodization is always fraught with problems, I do find a validation of this kind of shift from some of the writings of the colonial period to the early decades of the nineteenth century. The writings of Michael Frantz, coming shortly before the revolutionary war, have a more mystical flavor. For example, Frantz writes: "That is the true living wellspring of faith, which is driven by the Holy Spirit and rising flows upward into the eternal life; this, then is a wellspring of love from above, which returns to where the wellspring of love originates."[7] The emphases on the Spirit, freedom, and love are reiterated in another passage: "The whole gospel is based on freedom, through the movement of the Spirit, for those whom the Spirit moves are God's children. Thus the Spirit of God moves to love, and love cannot help but move to loving...."[8] Such language, pregnant with pietistic and mystical overtones, is not to be found as much as we move through the early decades of the nineteenth century.

In adopting the label, legalistic, I am not implying many of the usual connotations. Legalism is not always the opposite of love. To be legalistic does not necessarily mean that one is without love. Neither am I using legalism as a synonym for works righteousness. The evangelists of this period stressed that one might be judged by their works but that salvation and works were wholly the fruit of the grace and work of God. I am using the word, legalism, here to highlight the tendency during the nineteenth century to nail things down more securely, to be less flexible, to be more detailed and definite, to move to greater order. My examples relating to worship, baptism, the love feast, ministry, and the garb will hopefully help elucidate what I have in mind.

Worship

Morgan Edwards, an American Baptist historian, gave this description of the flexibility and freedom of early Brethren worship in 1770:

> Their church government and discipline are the same with those of the English Baptists; except that every brother is allowed to stand up in the congregation to speak in a way of exhortation and expounding; and when by these means they find a man eminent for knowledge and aptness to teach, they choose him to be a minister, and ordain him with imposition

of hands, attended with fasting and prayer and giving the right hand of fellowship.[9]

We find a similar type of evidence in an old manuscript from Michael Frantz, dated December 9, 1747, which Kurtz printed in his encyclopedia. The document dealt with the question of whether he would permit the breaking of bread in the love feast to take place without the presence of elders. His answer was that first he would attempt to have one who had been put on trial (meaning one who was in the ministry but not yet an elder) by the church to serve in place of an elder. However, if this were not possible, he would recommend that the church select two or more brethren, and then choose one of these by lot to serve in the fear of the Lord.[10]

Such earlier evidence that brethren who were not ordained were still taking the lead at public meetings, is not to be found as the fraternity moved to greater order in its life. By 1858, we find a minute which demonstrates greater rigidity: "As it regards prayer, it is considered that private members may pray in public, if liberty be given by elder brethren; but exhortation, teaching and prophesying seem to be duties and privileges belonging to the officers of the church."[11] The movement was toward greater order, structure, and authority in matters of worship.

Baptism

Another bit of evidence can be gained through an examination of two minutes dealing with standards of membership. Those of us who have thought in terms of the twentieth century as being the time of breaking out of the legalism from the past may be surprised at the flexibility of a decision in 1821. It was asked "Whether members might be received into the church, who have been but once immersed?" In response: "It was considered, that a threefold immersion is the true baptism; but if such persons would be content with their baptism, and yet acknowledge the Brethren's order as right, we would leave it over to them, and receive them with the laying on of hands and prayer."[12] By 1848, however, there was a different response to a similar inquiry: "Ought we to receive any person into the church without baptism, having been baptized by any other order of people? . . . unanimous conclusion, that it would be better to admit no person into the church, without first being baptized by the Brethren."[13]

There also seemed to take place a major shift in terms of the debate about baptism. Whereas the earlier leaders such as Alexander Mack had articulated an apology for believer's baptism in rejecting the practice of infant baptism of mainline

Protestants, later apologetics focused on the form and mode of baptism against the Mennonites, the Baptists, and Disciples. John Kline could argue for a kneeling position from Jesus' baptism of suffering in the garden of Gethsemane. Peter Bowman attempted to demonstrate the forward action from the motion of the children of Israel as they walked through the Red Sea (based on the allusion found in 1 Cor. 10:2 about being baptized into Moses in the cloud and the sea). William Thurman offered twenty six and one-half proofs for the triune action.[14] Due to the context of the American frontier, the apology generally shifted from a case for believer's baptism in the larger framework of the Anabaptist doctrine of the church and the relationship of the church to society to the more technical questions of form, mode, and order.

Love Feast

For an example of early flexibility, I refer to the desire to remain open to new revelation by Alexander Mack, Jr. in a letter on feetwashing appended to the writings of his father in 1774. The letter reveals that the early Brethren washed feet after the meal for a time and later washed feet after the meal and the breaking of bread. After a new Testament translation and instruction from a brother who knew Greek, they did it always before the meal. The theology of openness to new revelation can be sensed from some of the following quotes from Mack's little treatise:

> At the same time I want to say this, that if a brother or some other person can in love and humility demonstrate by the word of the Lord something other than what is now done, we are willing to accept it, and not only on this point of the feetwashing but also in other things. Indeed, we do not intend to rest upon old practices but the word of the Lord alone is to be our rule and guideline.[15]
> Oh, how Satan could mock us if we were to quarrel with one another about the time when the feet should we washed, and love would be destroyed—indeed, even the feetwashing and the breaking of bread would be completely abolished and peace destroyed.[16]
> . . . if I came to a brotherhood which wished to have breaking of bread and the elders of that brotherhood did not acknowledge other than that the feetwashing should be after the supper, I would participate quite simply in love and peace and would nevertheless explain it to them according to the Scriptures.[17]

Mack's priority on love and peace over precise correctness of the observance as the way Christians will be known was not always remembered in the struggles of the nineteenth century.

The movement toward greater rigidity can be seen in the

progression of answers given to queries about the participation of non-members in eating the Lord's supper. In 1832 it was decided that non-members could be permitted at the Lord's supper if there was room and the churches so desired. In 1841 there was no objection to admitting friends to the Lord's supper if they did not commune in partaking of the bread and the cup. By 1849, the answer was more negative: "Considered, to be a divine and sacred ordinance, as all the Lord's ordinances are, and should be eaten by the members only."[18]

Ministry

The genesis of the special offices of ministry is an area which needs more research in Brethren historiography. Alexander Mack, Sr., has often been called the first minister as on the cornerstone of the library at Bridgewater College. It is difficult to know when the more definite offices emerged in the life of the brotherhood. It is evident from the perusal of the minutes and literature of this period that the Brethren were struggling with questions of order. Should they or should they not lay hands on deacons? What were the specific terms, qualifications, and duties of the ministers? How should the ministry be defined? It is interesting to trace the shift of nomenclature toward a greater formalization of terms, a shift from the functional to the institutional. For example through the early years of the nineteenth century it was more likely to be housekeepers or those who are keeping house (meeting-house being the designation for the building instead of church). Later, one will find a greater use of overseers, titles like administrators, bishops, elders, or those in the third degree. Earlier for the second degree of ministry, the functional language, to set forward a brother, was used because the preaching ministers were literally set up in front behind the table. The deacons were often called visiting brethren as one of their primary responsibilities was the annual visit to the homes of the congregation. Later, the name deacon was used with greater frequency. It is apparent from even the language used that the shift from the functional to the institutional was one toward greater formalization, structure, and order.

Simplicity

In the theology of the simple life the emphasis changed from one of non-conformity to the high fashions of the world to one which called for conformity to the order and garb of the Brethren. My impression is that the century began with an emphasis on plainness and simplicity in the context of a great deal of latitude as to specific attire. It was primarily as the

Brethren began to experience divisions and the threat of acculturation that the order of dress was defined more rigidly. One interesting example supports this conclusion. Peter Nead, Lutheran turned Methodist turned Brethren, continued to wear his tall white hat, in the style of the clergymen of his day, after he was called to the ministry. Though he was permitted to preach in spite of his hat, Brother Benjamin Bowman did take him aside one day, admonished him, and gave him a black broadbrim. Such tolerance would probably not have been as prevalent by the time Nead would have been doing the counseling nearer the middle of the century.

Many of these legalistic trends, no doubt, resulted from the growth and expansion of this period. A more definite order and structure was necessary to keep the brotherhood together. Greater definition was required in order to prevent and heal divisions. Specific instructions and guidance were often requested by struggling frontier cadres. Rather than calling such legalistic manifestations good or bad, it might be more accurate to regard many of the counsels as inevitable and necessary. They were good inasmuch as they abbetted the spiritual and physical growth and unity of the brotherhood. They became bad when rules replaced faith and form took priority over love as an attempt to preserve the faith of the fathers.

ADAPTATION AND WINDS OF DOCTRINE

At the same time the fraternity was defining its life and polity with greater precision, there were many indications of what might seem to be an opposite phenomenon, namely indications of adaptation to and inroads from the larger cultural milieu. Encounters with the larger society can simultaneously take both the form of defining more rigidly the church's position over against society and adapting in many ways at the same time. If we as historians do not approve of such adaptation, we call it acculturation and see it as compromise, a selling out. If we approve of the adaptation, we place it in the framework of mission, of properly applying the gospel to the spirit of the times. Some have attempted to use the term adjustment as a more neutral concept, by which it can be affirmed that some adaptations constitute mission such as the spawning of new periodicals while other changes represent compromise such as the giving up of pacifism.

Whatever our evaluation, it is interesting to look at some obvious examples from the years between the revolutionary and civil wars. As biblicists the Brethren in 1827 were still advising the use of mutton for the love feast menu. In 1853 the minutes contained complaints about the growing use of beef. The advice

which was given that year adhered to the traditional preference for lamb, but rationalized that since we are a people free from ceremonial law, we should bear with one another. Though they had faithfully cooked lamb through the years, their settlement in an increasingly beef producing country was destined to change this adiaphorous practice completely by the end of the century to the extent that most Brethren today identify beef and beef broth with Kosher Brethrenism.

In struggling to preserve the doctrine of the simple life in a century becoming more affluent with the advent of the industrial revolution, the Brethren struggled frequently with matters such as carpets, carriages, hoops, jewelry, portraits, and tombstones. Their working through ethical decisions as to what would be appropriate in the life style of the members often appears to be legalistic in the sense of preoccupation with trivia and requirements of conformity. On the other hand, their consensus making process can be viewed as the ultimate in contextualism. They did not assume that once the decision was made it was binding for all times. Instead, on some of the issues, such as whether Brethren could own carpets, the matter came up again and again. This reveals both the fact that there was not universal adherence to the counsels of the big meeting as well as an openness on the part of the majority to struggle anew with the validity of the previous action.

It is well to keep in mind that such issues were logical ones in the context of their assumed theological affirmation that the gospel deals with all of life. One of the best explanations for their adaptation in the direction of less strictness is given by Henry Kurtz in his own editorial comments following the section on carpets:

> While such improvements were yet new, and only found in homes of the great and rich in the world, it was proper for brethren to advise as above (1827 and 1828 decisions); but after such improvements had become a common thing, and it was a convenience generally known, there was no further objection to their introduction. Thus it was almost in all cases.[19]

The 1828 counsel had stated that it should not be that Brethren have carpets in their houses as such would lead to elevation or pride. Kurtz's point is that when only the wealthy had carpets, this would be more true than when the industrial revolution made carpets more available to all. At the beginning of the nineteenth century one could not own carpets and still identify with the poor and lowly. Fifty years later it was judged to be possible.

Other changes can be noted. In 1783 a brother was not allowed to take any interest whatsoever. From 1836 on teachings on usuary advised only against taking more than lawful interest. In 1858 we discover some of the first complaints that pulpits and stands were finding their way into some of the meeting-houses. It should be stated that there were many matters on which there was little change, such as their attitude toward freemasonry, gambling, lotteries, and nonresistance. On the temperance issue it is interesting to observe that the Brethren could combine the spirit of rigidity and adaptation at the same time. In becoming more strict in their own habits, they were leaving behind the patterns of their German heritage and adapting to the growing temperance movement in revivalistic protestantism.

Methodism

Though much of the literary effort of this period results from attempts of Brethren to defend themselves in response to tracts and positions of other traditions, it is certain that the Brethren were being strongly influenced through these years by current winds of doctrine. Their writings and preaching reveal their dialogue and struggles with what can be labeled as evangelical, later pietist, revivalist, and methodist manifestations. They both appropriated and opposed aspects of the theology and methodology of the popular religious movement of the frontier. We find in Brethren preaching and writing a shift from the general theme of salvation as reconciliation with God, the community, and others to a stress by itinerant preachers on saving souls from eternal damnation to everlasting life. In 1815 the Yearly Meeting was forced to deal with the charges that the Brethren were cold and dead. The elders and meetings frequently had to grapple with the divisions which were being created by those who were demanding entire new birth before baptism. A frequent theological debate revolved around the question of whether one knows faith before repentance or repentance before faith. In 1820 it was considered that Brother J. K. went too far with harsh expressions against Brother A. M., his expressions being: "that he is to have said, from the teachings of Bro. M. there was apparent a spirit of Methodist and River brethren and an Antichrist!"[20] We find a ruling against mourning benches in 1842 and against extending an invitation and singing another hymn in 1855. By 1858 the Brethren approved in principle revival meetings, Kurtz printed Spurgeon's sermon, "Sinner, Turn or Burn" in the *Gospel Visitor*, and the following year saw a committee appointed to devise a plan to

spread the gospel by collecting money from districts to support traveling evangelists.

The Brethren were too afraid of coercion and intolerance to easily accept some of the more high manipulative aspects of revivalism. Nevertheless, they retained enough of the legacy of pietism to be open to a spirit of greater zeal and fervor in proclaiming the faith. They were too communal in life style and corporate in theology to accept easily the individualism of frontier revivalism. Nevertheless both their Anabaptist and Pietist heritage had bequeathed to them an emphasis on the importance of personal conversion. Their greatest points of opposition probably came at the points where the theology of religious experience was removed from the doctrine of the church. The Spirit did not come to the individual in conversion apart from the Spirit coming to us in terms of our relationship with the community of faith. Nevertheless, by the time of the Civil War, the evangelical spirit and revivalist practices were becoming more common among the Brethren. But opposition remained and the tensions were present which were destined to lead to the schism of the church in two directions in the eighteen eighties.

Premillennialism

It is also evident that Brethren were being influenced by currents of premillennialism which became especially strong in the decades of the forties and fifties. Peter Nead's writings during this period reflect this emphasis. His chapter in *Theological Writings* entitled, "The Second Advent of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and of those Events for Which We Shall Be Revealed," contain most of the common premillennial themes.[21] Nead reasoned that most of the signs of the end had and were appearing. Things are growing worse, and we must be in a state of readiness. When He comes, there will be first a collection of saints, the first resurrection, the rapture or ascending of the living and raised saints to meet their Lord in the air, a great battle, and the binding of Satan in chains. The conversion of the Jews, who had been gathered in Palestine, will constitute the second important event. Then will come a thousand year reign of Jesus Christ with his saints, during which time universal peace and happiness shall pervade the entire earth. After this millennium dispensation, there will follow the releasing of Satan to tempt men, the Day of Judgment, in which there will be the casting of Satan and the unjust into hell following the second resurrection of the just and unjust. Then there will occur the formation of the new heaven and a new earth, in which the felicity will be more glorious than during the millennial state.

Nead applied his dispensational scheme to the love feast. The law, he reasoned, is compared to breakfast, the gospel to dinner, and the millennium to the supper. The Lord's supper then, becomes the anticipatory supper looking forward to the great eschatological banquet, the marriage feast of the lamb. William Thurman wrote more extensively in the same vain, going so far as to be unacceptable to the Brethren in setting the exact date for the advent of Jesus. It was shortly following our period, on September 27, 1868, that he gathered with his schismatic followers to behold the second coming.

As early as 1817 we find Brethren such as Peter Bowman speaking of the age of darkness, supportive of a more pessimistic reading of the movement of history, a mood which usually accompanies expectations and hopes for a speedy end of the world as we know it. However, Brethren, with their strong *imitatio Christi* theology and ethical emphases, were not about to accept any dispensationalist view which put off an obedience to the sermon on the mount ethic until the millennium. In near unanimity they would probably have shared James Quinter's interpretation of the text which points to the kingdom within. This text, according to Quinter, points to the beginning, not the consummation of the kingdom. Not only should we pray this prayer, thy Kingdom come, "but with cheerfulness and diligence, should we cooperate with God in works of holiness, love, and mercy, to accomplish his purposes in delivering the world from the misery of sin, and the power of satan, and in restoring it to a state of obedience to its rightful Sovereign."[22] His emphasis on beginning to live in the kingdom now is in the context of his hope for the future kingdom. He describes how the whole wide world will become one Eden. ". . . fields of snow and arid sands shall blossom all with roses . . . a palace befitting its king. Then the saints shall inherit the earth. Even so, come, Lord Jesus, come quickly."[23]

That the premillennial teaching did not become normative for the fraternity can probably be explained by the fact that all were not in complete agreement. I deduce such from Quinter's co-editor, Henry Kurtz, in his articles introducing the Fraternity of German Baptist beginning in *The Monthly Gospel Visitor* of 1851. In exegeting the beatitudes, "for theirs *is* the kingdom of heaven," he underscores the *is* and adds: "The little word 'is' signifies something *present,* not *future;* something *near at hand,* and *not afar off.* There is not only a future, but a present salvation prepared for sinful and fallen mankind. . . . Yes we may sing truly of this kingdom on earth."[24] Still the kingdom is not of this world, but to speak of this Kurtz moves into the tradi-

tional Brethren language about nonconformity instead of futuristic talk about the advent.

In the midst of revivalist and premillennial currents, it might be interesting to look at the status of the doctrine of universalism which some of the early Brethren retained as a legacy from Radical Pietism. In the annual meeting minute dealing with George Wolfe in 1856, there was a denial that the doctrine of universal salvation ever obtained foothold in the brotherhood. At the same time it was admitted that "a good many of our ancient faithful brethren may have held the doctrine of *restoration*, and many of our dearly beloved brethren may still hold it."[25] The distinction between universal salvation and universal restoration was important. Whereas the adherents to the former denied punishment and hell, the later attempted to reconcile biblical teachings about judgment, punishment, and hell, with the biblical promises that ultimately all will be restored in Christ. The strong vestiges of this doctrine which remained probably reflected the strong emphasis on God's love which remained in the midst of the newer currents of emphases on judgment, hell, and damnation. The status of the doctrine of restoration was probably well summarized by James Quinter in 1858 in the *Gospel Visitor*.[26] "There are those among us," he wrote, "who hold this belief, namely the wicked will not be punished forever. It is by no means universal among us. Not held by the body. Where it is held, it is individual or private opinion."[27]

In some respects it may be accurate to describe the Brethren as retreating to the wilderness following the revolutionary war. But in so doing they were becoming a part of the most important thing which was happening in their time, namely, the implantation of new communities and settlement of a continent, often at the expense of others (our peace church forefather did not kill Indians, but they did often move in shortly after the troops had cleared the way). As they determined by and large the geographical spread which the Brethren know today, they were also formulating the doctrine and polity on which we continue to build and concerning which we continue to grapple. Many of the writings and documents such as the statement on war and nonresistance by the Annual Meeting of 1785 remain basic today. Though our heritage does not bind us to the past and instructs us always to be open to new light as it breaks forth from the Word, we can still be greatly enriched in our pilgrimage by increasing knowledge of and dialogue with the Brethren of the so-called wilderness period.

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FOOTNOTES

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[5] Kurtz, *op. cit.,* v-vii.

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[11] *Minutes . . . , op. cit.,* Art. 8, 211.

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[13] *Ibid.,* Art. 5, 123-24.

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[24] Henry Kurtz, *Gospel Visitor,* Vol. 1 (1851), 38.

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How The Brethren Were Influencing the Development of Other Denominations Between 1785 and 1860

Roger E. Sappington

AS I stated in the Introduction to my previous paper, I am particularly impressed at this time by five significant activities of the Brethren in the years from 1785 to 1860. Four of these I have already examined, and the fifth has spilled over into a separate paper. I believe that the Brethren were influencing the development of a number of other churches, and I propose to examine in some detail the influence of the Brethren on the (1) Brethren in Christ, (2) Universalists, and (3) Disciples of Christ. In my original outline of this paper, I included a fourth group, the Separate Baptists, but when I wrote the paper I dropped that group from my consideration both because I was running out of time and because I was having some difficulty in discovering evidence that was as precise as I wanted to have. From the evidence I have seen, I am still convinced that the Brethren were having an influence on the Separate Baptists in some ways.

The way in which the Brethren were influencing the development of the Brethren in Christ Church is a good place to begin this paper, because the events were taking place about 1785 and because the influence is quite clear-cut. In fact, it has sometimes been thought that the Brethren in Christ were some kind of a split from the Brethren or Dunkers, but that interpretation is not accepted by present-day historians, including Professor Carlton Wittlinger, who is now preparing a new history of the Brethren in Christ; a portion of that study dealing with the beginning of the church has been published as an article in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review.*[1] To that article, I am deeply indebted, for his research in the primary and secondary records has been much more intensive than mine.

To go back to the eighteenth century, what seems to have happened was that a small group of six to twelve Germans in

eastern Pennsylvania had a Pietistic conversion experience as the result of the ideas and preaching of Martin Boehm, a Mennonite preacher who later became one of the founders of the United Brethren in Christ. One of the most prominent leaders of this small group of Germans was Jacob Engel; others in the group included members of the Bentzner, Beyer, Funk, Geider, Hollinger, Meyer, Sider Stern, and Winger families. Some of these individuals had been Mennonites, but there is no positive evidence that any of them had been Brethren.

Even though some of the members of the group had been Mennonites, they evidently were not satisfied to become a part of the Mennonite church and consequently they looked around for a new church home. They could not follow Boehm into the United Brethren, for that group had not yet been organized. Also, his views on the ordinances of the church and his relationships with Christians of non-German backgrounds alienated this group of Pennsylvania Germans. These individuals were engaged in some intensive Bible study, and one of their conclusions was that baptism by trine immersion was the most correct form.

Baptism by trine immersion could be secured in Pennsylvania from only one source, and that was a Brethren minister. Therefore, these Germans who eventually became Brethren in Christ sought baptism from a Brethren minister. One report from a Brethren source indicates that they first went to Elder Christian Longenecker of the White Oak congregation. However, Longenecker was reported to be having some difficulty with the Brethren at this time and he told the group that "the Brethren Church was not any more on the true foundation, that they have the form, but lack life and spirit, and advised them to start a church for themselves, and build on the true foundation." The conclusion drawn by the writer of this account in the *History of the Church of the Brethren of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania* was, "It is reasonable to suppose that if Elder Longenecker had been at peace with the church, and the church with him, and he had done his duty, the River Brethren Church would never have been organized; that is, if they had been honest, and sincere, and the presumption is that they were."[2]

With this recommendation from Longenecker, it would be reasonable to expect this group to go out and organize their own church, but the problem of securing baptism had not been solved. They resolved to go to another Brethren minister, and this time they went to Elder George Miller. After they had indicated to him their desire to secure trine immersion baptism but then to organize their own church, he refused to baptize them, "saying that he had no authority to administer baptism apart from their

acceptance of Dunker membership." He is reported to have said: "If you want to begin something of your own you would better baptize yourselves."[3]

All of the evidence agrees that these religious seekers now went out and arranged to baptize themselves by trine immersion. The name of the first baptizer, the date of the baptism, and the place of the baptism were not recorded. The baptism may have taken place in the Susquehanna River, and if not there, then almost certainly in one of the many streams that flow into that river. On that basis, the term "River Brethren" has been widely used to refer to this new group of Christians. One of the reasons for this designation was to distinguish them from the other group of Brethren or Dunkers, since there were so many similarities between the two groups.

Professor Wittlinger has provided an excellent summary of the similarities and the differences between the two groups. On the one hand, the Brethren in Christ "stressed the wearing of the beard, selected church officials by election rather than by lot, held love feasts in connection with communion services, conducted deacon visitations of district memberships, and baptized by trine immersion. All of these practices were characteristically Dunker; none was characteristically Mennonite." A few of the founders had "a Mennonite heritage; nothing can be said with assurance about the others. It is clear however, that the founders owed more to Dunker than to Mennonite influences in the formulation of their theology and folkways." On the other hand, Wittlinger concluded that the Brethren in Christ could not accept membership in the Brethren church because "the two groups differed basically on the meaning of baptism. The Dunkers, who stood aloof from the pietistic awakening, linked baptism with the remission of sins. In other words, they baptized for the remission of sins on the basis of the applicant's repentance and faith rather than on the basis of his prebaptismal testimony to the new birth. This position was irreconcilable with the Brethren [in Christ] view that baptism was an act of obedience by which the applicant testified to his pre-baptismal experience of the new birth. The point at issue was really a fundamental difference in defining the nature of conversion. The Brethren [in Christ] could not make common cause with anyone who rejected the pietistic view of conversion as a personal, heartfelt experience occurring prior to baptism and of which baptism was merely a symbol."[4]

The Brethren and the Brethren in Christ certainly had much in common, including such things as nonconformity in dress, the use of the affirmation instead of the oath, the refusal to participate in military service, the reluctance to use the courts,

and total abstinence from alcoholic beverages. In fact, there is evidence that as the two groups departed from their home base in Pennsylvania and emigrated to the frontier, they dropped their differences and combined forces in facing the problems of frontier life. When the Woodstock congregation of the Brethren church was organized in 1827 to include all of the territory between the Flat Rock congregation and to Potomac River in northern Virginia, six of the twelve charter members had been members of the River Brethren.[5] Their isolation apparently had led them to join with the religious group most similar to their ideas in the organization of this congregation.

Just as some of the Brethren and the Brethren in Christ were merging on the frontier because of the similarity of their ideas, some of the Brethren on the frontier were merging with another group called the Universalists because of the similarity of their ideas.

The historical relationship between the Brethren and the Universalist Church in America has never been studied in its overall detail. This paper obviously does not propose to fulfill that need, but simply to outline briefly some of the areas in which the Brethren were making an impact on the development of Universalism.

When and how this relationship began is not completely clear, and since it occurred before 1785, it is not within the scope of this paper to explore that problem. It is clear that by 1785 some of the Brethren were accepting Universalist ideas, whether or not they recognized them as such, and were influencing the development of Universalism in America. At that time, Elhanan Winchester, who was a prominent defender of Universalism, was preaching and writing in Philadelphia. Probably, Winchester was making more of an impact on the Brethren than the other way around, although he was much impressed by the character of the Brethren as well as by their beliefs.[6]

Winchester also made an impact on the Brethren through Timothy Banger, who came to America from England in 1793 with a letter of introduction from Winchester to Dr. Benjamin Rush, in which Banger was described as "a promising young man." Banger evidently worshipped with the Philadelphia Universalists for the next twenty-five years; when that group accepted Unitarian ideas, he withdrew and associated with the Brethren. He became an elder in 1824, and according to the Universalist historian, Richard Eddy, he "was for a long time associated with Peter Keyser and James Lynd in their ministry at the meetings in Crown Street, Philadelphia, and Germantown."[7] That Banger could move so easily from the Universalist

Church to the Brethren was an indication of the similarity of their ideas. That the Brethren in the Philadelphia area were maintaining a separate identity, however, was confirmed by another Universalist historian, Thomas Whittemore, writing in 1830: "There is, at this day, a regular congregation of Winchesterian Universalists, who have a Meeting House of considerable size in the Northern Liberties [in Philadelphia]. They have never joined the Universalists as a denomination Their pastor is a Mr. Keyser, a respectable merchant."[8]

By the time Whittemore was writing in 1830, he could also report the development of Universalism among the Dunkers of Lancaster County. About 1827, two Universalist preachers from Philadelphia were invited to preach in Lancaster County, and "their labors were crowned with great success," according to Whittemore. Several Brethren ministers accepted Universalism, including Jacob Myers, A. B. Grosh, and Samuel Longenecker. A Universalist journal in the German language, entitled *Der Frohliche Botschafter,* was published from 1829 to 1838 in Lancaster County by J. Myers and G. Grosh. In response to a questionnaire from Whittemore, A. B. Grosh responded: "I find many Restorationists among the German Baptists, the Lutherans, and the Reformed Churches; the old Mennonists are nearly all; . . . But very few will care publicly to own this *faith,* since the *name* is attached to it."[9]

At the same time that Winchester was preaching in Pennsylvania and the Brethren in that state were accepting his brand of Universalism, the Brethren in the Carolinas were making a major impact on the development of Universalism in the South. Two Brethren ministers, John Ham in North Carolina and David Martin in South Carolina, began to preach Universalist ideas in the 1780's. Both were very persuasive preachers and both won large numbers of people, including Brethren, to their ideas. Ham was eventually disfellowshipped by the Brethren, probably because there were strong leaders in North Carolina, like Jacob Stutzman and Jehu Burkhart, who disagreed with him. His ideas lived on, however, because his followers moved to the western frontier.

David Martin was never disfellowshipped, according to the available records, probably because he converted all of the Brethren in South Carolina to his point-of-view. One of Martin's followers was Giles Chapman, who also followed Martin in preaching Universalist ideas. But there was no Universalist Church in the Carolinas at this time, according to the Universalist historians. Note carefully what Whittemore wrote: "Neither Mr. Chapman, nor any of his brethren knew of the

existence of any Universalists in the United States besides themselves; nor did he become acquainted with the fact, until on his death bed [in 1819], when a friend accidentlly procured and read to him Ballou's Treatise on Atonement. The dying man was in ecstacy, and so strong was the effect upon his feelings it is said to have allayed his bodily pain, though his suffering had been extreme."[10] Evidently, the Brethren were making a major impact on the development of Universalism in South Carolina. When a State Convention of Universalists was first organized in 1830, representatives were present from the Newberry and Fairfield Districts, which were two of the areas in which there had once been Brethren settlements.[11]

When the Brethren moved to the western frontier from the southern states, they frequently took their Universalist ideas with them. Very little is known about the relationship between the Brethren and the Universalists in Kentucky. David Benedict, a Baptist historian, wrote in 1848 that some of the followers of John Ham "moved into the Green river country, Ky., and caused great confusion among the brotherhood there as well as in North Carolina."[12] By the 1820's quite a number of Brethren in Kentucky had been disfellowshipped; probably, a number of factors were involved, including the impact of Universalist ideas on the Brethren in Kentucky. What impact the Brethren were having on the development of Universalism in Kentucky is not clear. Whittemore reported: "There are many Universalists in the States of Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In a letter, dated Feb. 1826, a preacher says, . . . In Kentucky our friends are not so numerous. I have heard of but one society in that State, who believe in the restoration of all things. It is in the neighborhood of Lexington. Brother John Rice, a German, is the pastor, and I have been told he is a man of many virtues. I have been informed also, that there are two preachers of our order, living in the lower part of the State."[13]

One of the young men who lived for several years in a Brethren settlement in Kentucky after 1800 and who was very much influenced by Universalist ideas was George Wolfe, Jr. By 1808 he had moved to southern Illinois and after his baptism and call to the ministry by the Brethren, he spent the remainder of a long life preaching the Brethren brand of Universalism and influencing the development of Universalism in Illinois and Missouri. Eddy quoted at length from a Universalist minister, John A. Gurley, who was the editor of the *Star of the West:*

> On the day following the one I spent in Quincy, [in 1839] I attended an appointment about fifteen miles distant, and delivered a discourse to a very large congregation of

Dunkards. I was much pleased with the visit and with the people. Here I became acquainted with Father Wolf, a preacher of the above order, but of our faith in all things relating to the doctrine of the Bible. He is a remarkable man for his powers of reasoning, and is esteemed by those best acquainted with him, as possessing natural powers of mind equal to any in the State. He has preached Universalism more than twenty-five years, and has been the means of converting hundreds, and perhaps thousands. His success in the southern part of the State has been great, and his talents and character command the highest esteem and respect wherever he is known. He preaches to a regular society where he resides, statedly; and his congregations are uniformly large. Great anxiety was manifested by him and his society to hear an eastern preacher; for although old in the faith, they had never listened to one connected with our denomination. They desired to hear for themselves, that they might know of a certainty whether we agreed with them in sentiment. I delivered therefore a doctrinal sermon, to which was given the most fixed attention; and, as I proceeded, I was wonderfully pleased at the appearance of the assembly. Not a word was lost, and each one seemed to say, "There! that is just what we believe; that is our doctrine. How singular! he preaches precisely like our preachers, and uses the same arguments." And at the close of the services all seemed satisfied with the sentiments put forth; and Father Wolf assured me that what I had advanced was in perfect harmony with his own belief, and that of his denomination.[14]

Eddy himself put it concisely when he wrote: "The first preacher of Universalism in Illinois was the Rev. George Wolf, a Dunker, in 1812. The doctrine of the final salvation of all souls was always prominent in his preaching."[15]

George Wolfe was also very influential among the Brethren in Missouri. Eddy's information was not very complete regarding Missouri, for he did not know "who were the pioneers of Universalism in this State." He had learned that "as early as 1837 or 1838, Rev. J. P. Fuller organized a church in Troy; and from the fact that the members were admitted by immersion, we infer that it was in a Dunkard community,—as many Dunkards believed and openly preached the doctrine of Universalism."[16] The Clingingsmith account confirmed Eddy's suspicions: "Now in these western churches the Brethren had been in the habit of preaching the restitution, and especially in the church there in Cape Girardeau County, Mo." He indicated that there was quite a struggle to preserve the Brethren identity, but eventually the Brethren were "overcome by so much opposition, and left off the ordinances of the house of God. And then they soon went in the broad ways of the world. . . They call themselves Universalists, but I cannot see any difference between them

and the world."[17] Evidently, the Brethren were getting Universalism established in Missouri, just as they had previously done in a number of other states.

The final denomination which was being influenced in its development during these years by the Brethren was the Disciples of Christ. Any discussion of this relationship must take into account Professor Mallott's contentions which he set forth in his *Studies in Brethren History:* "There are striking likenesses between the Brethren and the Disciples. These cannot be documented as to their source. But Campbell's writings show that he was familiar with the Brethren. Language was no doubt a bar, but the influence of the Brethren upon Campbell was nevertheless profound. And through this influence the Brethren can be said in some degree to have entered into one of the most successful of indigenous American evangelistic movements."[18] Mallott's claim that Campbell was familiar with the Brethren is difficult to document.

A very interesting story regarding Campbell and the Brethren was described somewhat incidentally by the Universalist historian, Richard Eddy, who has already been quoted in connection with Universalism: "About fifty years ago [about 1840], Alexander Campbell, founder of the sect known as the Disciples, visited Philadelphia, and attempted to induce the Dunker church in that city to enroll themselves among his disciples, and thus form the nucleus of a larger movement. His proposition was made to Timothy Banger, one of the preachers in the church, an avowed and outspoken believer in Universal Restoration. Mr. Banger replied:—"We are both for baptism by immersion, and I do not see any reason why *we* should join *you,* that would not equally require you to join *us!*' Mr. Campbell answered, '*You* celebrate the Lord's Supper twice a year, whereas *we* celebrate it every Lord's day.' 'That,' replied Mr. Banger, 'is only increasing the number of times, but does not touch the principle. What do you say concerning the washing of feet? We do *that:* do *you?* Besides, *we* hold to the restitution of all things: do *you?*' Negative replies sealed the conclusion: '*Our* testimony is altogether the largest and grandest; and vainly you try to argue us into relinquishment of it.' "[19] At least Banger represented one Brethren congregation which refused to be swayed by the persuasion of Alexander Campbell.

Mallott's contentions were based largely on the geographical proximity of the Brethren and the early center of Campbellite activity. Alexander Campbell and his father, Thomas, lived in Washington County, Pennsylvania in the years around 1810 when the Campbellite ideas were beginning to take shape. The evidence

seems to indicate that there was a very early Brethren settlement in Washington County, which may have been in existence by 1760, and certainly there was an organized congregation, called the Ten Mile congregation, in that county before 1800.[20] Probably, the language barrier, which Mallott conceded, prevented any significant intercourse between the Dunkers and the Campbells, for there is no evidence that either Campbell spoke German. At any rate, when the Campbells, who were Presbyterian in background, came to the conclusion that they ought to be baptized by immersion, they went to an English-speaking Baptist minister in the area named Mathias Luce, who baptized them[21] How much the Brethren had influenced this decision by the Campbells is not clear.

For a number of years the Campbells accepted membership in the Baptist Church, but by 1830 the independent nature of the Campbells was being questioned by the Baptists; consequently, the Campbells moved in the direction of organizing an independent denomination, widely known as the Disciples of Christ. In some areas the Brethren seemed to have simply followed the leadership of other groups and combined their forces with other denominations to form Disciples churches. For example, a report from Fleming County, Kentucky in January, 1833, indicated that a Baptist church had voted unanimously "in favor of a restoration of the apostolic order in the church." John P. Vaughn, the minister, also noted: "This union embraced members from four sects, viz.—Baptists, Methodists, Christian body, and Tunkers. This church consisted of about one hundred members and we are prospering."[22] It seems evident from this report that the Baptists had been the leaders in the organization of this church.

In one area, however, the Brethren seemed to be carrying a much larger share of the responsibility in influencing the development of the Disciples Church; that area was southern Indiana. One of the individuals who was very directly involved in the establishment of the first Disciples Church in Indiana was John Wright. He had been born in 1785 in Rowan County, North Carolina in a Brethren home, although his father had earlier been a Quaker and probably had become Brethren in North Carolina. The family was a typical migrating American family; for a few years, the family lived in southwestern Virginia and then moved to Wayne County, Kentucky. After marrying twice—his first wife died after two years of marriage—Wright moved to southern Indiana in 1807. The following year, "he and his wife were immersed in the Ohio River, by William Summers, of Kentucky."[23] Although no one has identified this minister as a

Brethren minister, it is interesting to note that one of the prominent Brethren families in South Carolina was that of Joseph Summers.[24] According to the available evidence, John Wright "united with the Baptist Church, and in the latter part of the same year be began to preach." In 1810, he moved to Washington County, Indiana, near the town of Salem, and after his father had moved to the same area, they organized ten congregations, which were combined into the Blue River Association.[25]

A second individual who was very directly involved in the establishment of the Disciples Church in southern Indiana was the Brethren minister, Joseph Hostetler, whose early experiences as a Brethren minister have already been explained. The evidence seems to indicate that about 1825, "he was accused, by some of his brethren, of disseminating heterodox opinions."[26] Eventually, he was brought to a trial, but he defended his position as Biblical so well that he was not disfellowshipped. However, the experience had created an alienation from the ruling authorities among the Brethren and in 1828 Hostetler left the church to associate with the Campbellite "reformation," as it was called. With him went some fifteen Brethren congregations in southern Indiana.

One of the first places to which Hostetler had turned in his alienation from the Brethren was to John Wright's Blue River Association of Free Will Baptists. Hostetler accepted Wright's proposition that "the two groups unite, face their problems together, and call themselves 'Christians.'" According to a recent historian of the Disciples in Indiana, Henry K. Shaw, "This union was effected and became the first of such unions among the religious bodies which later became identified with the Disciples' movement in Indiana."[27] This new group now began to look for other groups with which such unions might be implemented, and in that hope representatives, including John Wright and his brother, Peter, were sent to a conference of the New Light followers of Barton W. Stone at Edinburg in Bartholomew County, Indiana in July, 1828. Although there are no minutes of the Edinburg meeting, the evidence clearly indicates that the two groups merged; this new merged group later united with the Silver Creek Association of Regular Baptists with John Wright playing an important role as a mediator between the two groups. By this move, some three thousand members of the two groups were united.[28] Eventually, in the 1830's this unified group became more clearly identified with the Disciples of Christ Church as it developed in Indiana. Thus, the Brethren through such men as John Wright and Joseph Hostetler had played a significant role in the early development of the Disciples of Christ Church in southern Indiana.

In conclusion, the Brethren historian is challenged by the possibility of filling in some of the gaps in our own historical record by utilizing the records of other religious groups. Brethren historians have had some acquaintance with the relation between the Brethren and the Brethren in Christ and between the Brethren and the Universalists, but the historical record in both cases is significantly supplemented by utilizing materials gathered by the historians of those groups. In the case of the relation between the Brethren and the Disciples, especially in southern Indiana, previous Brethren writers have been completely unaware of the early Brethren congregations in southern Indiana. Thus, our knowledge of the early Brethren in that area is very largely dependent on Disciple sources. We owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to these other groups whose historians and writers were describing events in the life of the nineteenth century Brethren. Indeed, they help to cast new light on what had once been considered the "Dark Ages" in the life of the Brethren!

FOOTNOTES

[1] Carlton O. Wittlinger, "The Origin of the Brethren in Christ," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XLVIII (January, 1974), 55-72.

[2] The Committee, *History of the Church of the Brethren of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The New Era Printing Company, 1915), page 383.

[3] Wittlinger, "Brethren in Christ," page 64.

[4] *Ibid.,* pages 59-60, 65.

[5] Roger E. Sappington, *The Brethren in Virginia* (Harrisonburg, Virginia: Printed for The Committee for Brethren History in Virginia by the Park View Press, 1973), page 43.

[6] For more information on Winchester and the Brethren, see Roger E. Sappington, "Eighteenth Century Non-Brethren Sources of Brethren History, II," *Brethren Life and Thought,* II (Spring, 1957), 69-72.

[7] Richard Eddy, *Universalism in America, A History* (Boston: Universalist Publishing House, 1891), II, 72-73.

[8] Thomas Whittemore, *The Modern History of Universalism* (Boston: Published by the Author, 1830), pages 415-416.

[9] *Ibid.,* pages 440-441.

[10] *Ibid.,* pages 421-422.

[11] For a detailed discussion of Universalism in the Carolinas, see Roger E. Sappington, *The Brethren in the Carolinas* (Kingsport, Tennessee: Privately printed by the Watson Lithographing Company, Inc., 1972), pages 54-76.

[12] David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America* (New York: Lewis Colby and Company, 1848), page 913.

[13] Whittemore, *Modern History of Universalism,* pages 430-431.

[14] Eddy, *Universalism in America, A History,* I, 40-41.

[15] Richard Eddy, *History of Universalism,* volume X of *American Church History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), page 441.

[16] Eddy, *Universalism* in America, A History, II, 386.

[17] John Clingingsmith, "Short Historical Sketch of the Far Western Brethren of the so-called Dunkard Church . . . ," typescript in the Historical Archives of the Church of the Brethren General Offices, Elgin, Illinois, pages 14-15.

[18] Floyd E. Mallot, *Studies in Brethren History* (Elgin: Brethren Publishing House, 1954), pages 97-98.

[19] Abel C. Thomas, *A Century of Universalism,* page 160, quoted in Eddy, *Universalism in America, A History,* I, pages 38-39.

[20] W. J. Hamilton, editor, *Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren in Western Pennsylvania,* 1751-1950 (Elgin: Printed for the Historical Committee by Brethren Publishing House, 1953), pages 411-415.

[21] Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1868), I, 395-399.

[22] *Millennial Harbinger,* 1833, pages 140-141, quoted in A. W. Fortune, *The Disciples in Kentucky* (St. Louis: Christian Board of Publication, 1932), page 103.

[23] Madison Evans, *Biographical Sketches of the Pioneer Preachers of Indiana* (Philadelphia: J. Challen & Sons, 1862), pages 29-30.

[24] Sappington, *Brethren in the Carolinas,* pages 58-59.

[25] Evans, *Pioneer Preachers,* pages 30-31.

[26] *Ibid.,* page 64.

[27] Henry K. Shaw, *Hoosier Disciples* (St. Louis: Published by The Bethany Press for the Association of the Christian Churches in Indiana, 1966), page 79.

[28] Evans, *Pioneer Preachers,* pages, 32-34.

THE BRETHREN—1785-1860, RECONSIDERED IN 1974

ROBERT G. CLOUSE

THE papers given at the Brethren Writers Conference at Ashland Theological Seminary in April, 1974 represents the historiography of most of the branches of the Tunker fraternity. They also reflect some of the continuing concerns of the divisions of the church. It is a mark of ecumenical maturity and a tribute to the kindness of the hosts at Ashland Theological Seminary that such a congenial conference could be held after our church has experienced so many painful splits. One is often tempted to make a case study of the Brethren Church to demonstrate some of the dangers of fragmentation inherent in the Protestant position. Although numerically small compared to the major Protestant sects, the Brethren have experienced repeated schisms. The seamless robe of the church has indeed been repeatedly rent. Throughout this meeting, however, there was a genuine concern to understand a variety of views concerning nineteenth century Brethren history.

Several points linger in the mind of this writer. First is the reconsideration of what has become the traditional view of Brethren development. As Professor Durnbaugh states: "The focus of this now-traditional approach is to divide Brethren history—like ancient Gaul—into three parts. With minor differences in nomenclature and chronology they are: 1) a period of early or colonial history (from 1708 to the Revolutionary War); 2) a period of eclipse or wilderness (from the Revolutionary War to 1850); and 3) a period of recovery or renaissance (from 1850 to the present)."[1] He continues to explain that this view of high achievement during the colonial era has been overstated and that the picture of Brethren stagnation during the wilderness period has also been exaggerated. Evidence is given by Durnbaugh and by Dale Brown and Roger Sappington that serves to develop a more favorable outlook on the wilderness period of Brethren history.

Many of the trends that are found in the Brethren Church during the years 1785-1860 are continued by the Old Order Brethren. Their position is explained in the paper given by Marcus Miller at the Conference. Professor Brown suggests that some of these emphases would be unity, legalism, and simplicity in addition to the Brethren distinctives such as the love feast and a peculiar mode of baptism. In short, one comes away from these papers with the impression that the Old Order counter-cultural emphasis is of greater value than the Progressive Brethren attitude which attempted to adjust to the emerging American nation during the nineteenth century.

Such interpretations can lead others less skilled in history to some strange conclusions. Hence Arthur Gish, a student of Brown and Durnbaugh, can write: "Out of personal involvement in the New Left has come a new appreciation for the radical heritage of the Christian faith in general and the Anabaptist tradition in particular. Although raised in the Church of the Brethren, I was unaware of the radical nature of this tradition until I had had contact with the New Left. The beard of the protester gave me a new appreciation for my Anabaptist grandfather's beard. His beard symbolizes for him something very similar to what the beard means for the protester. When I asked my grandfather why he grew a beard his reply was that it was to show that he was different from the world. The beard of the protester is to demonstrate that he is not part of the establishment. My own beard is a conscious attempt to bring together these two radical perspectives."[2] The nineteenth century emphasis is identified with Anabaptism and then romanticized in Gish's interpretation. As the New Left or counterculture has many of the same ideas this becomes a very popular way to interpret Brethren history.

One must be very careful of this sort of present-mindedness. In fact, it could be as mistaken as the Progressive Brethren historiography which tended to downgrade the wilderness period. As Durnbaugh reminds us, early Brethren historians were conscious of belonging to a religious group that was commonly thought to be a small, backward rural sect. When they moved into a wider society and became aware of the educated world they must have had feelings of inferiority. In an attempt to overcome this attitude it was comforting to point to Christopher Sauer, the first Sunday School, the Germantown Academy, and other examples of the achievements of the early Brethren Church. These spokesmen also could challenge the conservative element of the Brethren Church by pointing to an earlier period of scholarly achievement. While perhaps they overemphasized

the progressive nature of the colonial era one must guard against a condemnation of the Progressives. They did try to come to terms with the American dream. For many, Americanism has ended in the nightmare of the Indo-China War, Watergate, and a continuing unequal distribution of society's resources. However, for others, America still represents a land of opportunity and justice. There are many aspects of the national outlook and achievement which a Christian should take great care in condemning. Our nation has certain standards of justice shared by other liberal Western democracies which are based upon Christian ethical considerations. While many times we do not attain to these ideals, they remain as standards for us to strive for. Even the much-discussed American "civil religion" borrows heavily from the Christian faith. The American myth encourages people "to shake free of the limiting past . . . in a struggling ascent . . . toward the realization of promise in an open gracious future."[3] The belief inherent in this vision of future hope and sacrificial dedication is not at odds with the Christian outlook. Followers of Christ can contribute their values to the society at these points.

If we wish to influence our world with the Gospel of Christ we cannot turn our backs on the American dream. There are several reasons for this. First of all, it is the major opening to transcendence for many Americans. Second, it bears within itself a way to criticize American life, and, finally, no society exists without some unifying myth; so it seems unlikely that the American symbol system will be much different in the next hundred years than what it has been in the last three hundred.

We must be careful that a pessimistic despair does not dull our Christian hope. The Progressive Brethren wished to be involved in the world rather than drop out into a counter culture which can easily lead to a pharisaic isolation. How to be in the world but not of the world had led to division within the ranks of the Progressive Brethren. One must remember that considerable latitude is required in judging others and their relationship to the present world order. The legalism of nineteenth century Brethrenism must give way to a more gracious outlook if one is to be salt and light in the last third of the twentieth century. When confronted by counter culture self-righteousness many still react as Holsinger did when he disagreed with those who felt that "the salvation of the church depended on the maintenance of the 'order' or peculiar costume and habits of the fathers. . . ."[4]

Another problem raised at the conference that deserves further attention is the relationship of the Brethren to other

church bodies and new currents of religious thought. Professors Sappington and Brown both mention that large numbers of Brethren people were won over to the expanding Campbellite movement in Kentucky, southern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Although it is difficult to document, there is an interesting similarity in life style between the Disciples and the Brethren. Some connection between the movements remains to be explained.[5]

Premillennialism's influence on the Brethren during the decades of the 1840's and 1850's also ought to receive further study. Currently, there is a great deal of interest in the premillennialism of such writers as Hal Lindsey.[6] The Brethren Church which supports Grace Theological Seminary at Winona Lake, Indiana has been heavily influenced by premillennialism of the dispensationalist variety. This teaching originated in England with the Plymouth Brethren movement founded by John Nelson Darby. The currently popular version of millennial thinking teaches that the Kingdom of God was offered to the Jews at the time of Jesus but they rejected it and killed the king, consequently, the coming of the kingdom was postponed. During the years of the postponement, which includes the present age, the church is being formed. When the last individual to be converted through the church is won to Christ, the believers will be "raptured," i.e. miraculously withdrawn from the earth. Then the woes predicted in the Book of Revelation will be poured upon mankind. An evil ruler, the Antichrist, will form the most vigorous, anti-God religious, political, social, and economic totalitarianism that the world has ever seen. He will be defied by the Jews, however, who in turn will be won to Christ through their suffering. Finally, when the forces of evil are prepared to destroy the last of the believing Jews, Christ will return to earth in power with His saints and defeat the evil hosts. After the destruction of His enemies Christ will establish a kingdom over all the earth which will last one thousand years. During this period all of man's longings for perfect and complete justice will be fulfilled. The age will be characterized by universal peace, perfect righteousness, prosperity, and harmony which extends even to the animal world. At the end of this chiliad of joy there is to be a final rebellion against God called the battle of Gog and Magog. Again, the enemy is defeated by divine intervention and the last judgment is held.

It would be interesting to compare the contemporary premillennial view with that held by a nineteenth century Brethren writer such as Peter Nead. Some student should also try to analyze why Christians turn to a premillennial eschatology. Some

believe that this outlook is brought on by difficult conditions in society. However, others can point to premillennialists in seventeenth century England and nineteenth century America who were actually improving their lot in society. It would also be interesting to notice the place of the Brethren Church in the transmitting of the eschatology of J. N. Darby to America.[7]

Professor Alderfer's paper raised several points of interest for those who attended the conference. One of the more interesting is the effect of nineteenth century revivalism upon the culture in general. Dale Brown extends this analysis to the Brethren Church and its contact with revivalism. Professor Kent's remarks point to the need to present the Gospel of Christ to others. All would agree with this, but the problem is whether revivalist preaching and methods are the best way to accomplish this goal. Does religious change come instantly or is such development based upon more long range teaching? As Professor Brown states of the nineteenth century Brethren attitude toward revivalism: "Their greatest points of opposition probably came at the points where the theology of religious experience was removed from the doctrine of the church. The Spirit did not come to the individual in conversion apart from the Spirit coming to us in terms of our relationship with the community of faith."[8] The spirit of solid growth is a fine ideal and some of the methods of revivalism offend many of our sensibilities, however, the point remains that it is easy for a church to become stagnant and lethargic without some kind of awakening. The history of the church in general and of the Brethren in particular demonstrates that at times Christians need to be stirred by some new method of renewal and reform.

The Brethren Writer's Conference was an encouraging experience for those who attended. Our church has a fine heritage with much to contribute to the difficult times in which we live. A nuclear age needs our testimony of peace, the environmental crisis needs our teaching of simplicity, but most of all a secular age needs our witness to the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Durnbaugh, p. 2.

[2] Arthur G. Gish, *The New Left and Christian Radicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1970) p. 49.

3 Robert Benne and Philip Hefner, *Defining America, a Christian Critique of the American Dream* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974) pp. 9ff.

4 Henry R. Holsinger, *History of the Tunkers and the Brethren Church* (Oakland, California: Pacific Press Publishing Co., 1901) p. 475.

5 Notice the thesis of David Eller referred to by Professor Dale Brown in note 4.

6 Hal Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970).

7 Clarence B. Bass, *Backgrounds to Dispensationalism* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1960) and Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism, British and American Millennarianism 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

8 Dale Brown, p. 13.

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Findings in Doctoral Programs of Ashland/CHERS Graduates

Introduction to the Current Issue

THE general theme for the *Ashland Theological Bulletin* for 1976 is "Frontiers in Ministry." The three articles in the publication are summaries of doctoral studies completed by participants in the CHERS Doctor of Ministry program of the seminaries of the Ohio region. These three participants entered and proceded through the program by way of Ashland Theological Seminary.

As the articles reflect, this doctor of ministry program is highly self-directing with the motivation, focus, and direction of the program coming from the participant. Many of the components are designed and organized by the participant including Core Faculty, Support Group, Proposal, and Evaluation. These studies, then, were initiated by the participants and worked through upon their initiative under the overall direction of the Coordinating Council of the CHERS institution.

The studies here described represent new and creative approaches to ministry in several areas. The participants had no models to follow or designs to copy. Out of the need and challenge in the several contexts of ministry they hewed out programs for the situations. As such these articles represent *frontiers in ministry.*

RICHARD E. ALLISON, whose program dealt with adult Christian education, is a graduate of Ashland College (A.B.), Ashland Theological Seminary (M. Div.) and Goshen College Biblical Seminary (M.R.E.). He received the D. Min. degree in 1975. As a pastor in the Brethren Church, ordained in 1959, Dr. Allison held posts in Ohio, Pennsylvania and Indiana. He concluded seven years of pastoral ministry at Jefferson Brethren Church, Goshen, Indiana in May of 1976 to devote full time to teaching responsibilities as Associate Professor of Christian Education at Ashland Theological Seminary. The writer holds posts in several major agencies of his denomination.

DONALD R. RINEHART is a professor in the Religion Department of Ashland College, the context in which he carried out his program dealing with simulation gaming. He is currently serving as chairman of the department as well as active teacher. The experiences that Dr. Rinehart, an ordained minister in the Brethren Church, brings to his present position include seven years of teaching at Ashland College, four years of pastoral ministry in the Brethren Church in Ohio, two years of youth ministry and two years of teaching in the Tucson Public Schools.

His educational background includes the B.S. in Education, Ashland College, M. Ed., University of Arizona, and B.D. and M. Div., Ashland Theological Seminary. Dr. Rinehart received the D. Min. degree in 1974.

CHARLES G. RONKOS, whose program dealt with the development of a Christian education program in the context of the Cleveland Psychiatric Institute, is presently Protestant Chaplain at C. P. I. An ordained minister in the Lutheran Church in America, Chaplain Ronkos has had pastoral experience in Springfield, Ohio, and in missionary settings in Montevideo and Rivera, Uraguay. In addition to his responsibilities at C. P. I., Dr. Ronkos carries administrative and teaching responsibilities in the Clinical Pastoral Education program of Ashland Theological Seminary conducted in the C. P. I. setting and teaches Pastoral Counseling and Group Dynamics at the Ashland campus of Ashland Theological Seminary.

Chaplain Ronkos received the B.B.A. from University of Pittsburgh, B.D. from Hamma School of Theology, and M. Div. from Ashland Theological Seminary. He was awarded the D. Min. degree in 1973. He is active in several professional societies in his field and serves on several committees related to mental health services in the State of Ohio.

<div align="right">Owen H. Alderfer, Editor</div>

A Model for Adult Education in the Tradition of the Believers' Church

Richard E. Allison

THIS is a time of transition for adult education in the church. Following World War II, education[1] enjoyed a flourishing life in the church. During the latter part of the 1960's things began to change. Public interest in religion began to wane, social problems became more acute and financial support of all church enterprises began to decline. In addition, church education found itself in desperate need.

The reasons for this are several. First, there is the confusion of education with a particular agent of education. In many circles, education is synonymous with Sunday School. However, the Sunday School is not so much an agency of education as it is an agency of a particular form of Protestantism and it cannot be easily or quickly turned into an educational agency. In addition, there is need for an appreciation of the educational role of the various agencies of the congregation.

Secondly, there is a confusion of the work of the Spirit and the process of education. At the practical level, a lot of sloppy, ill-defined educational work, poor teacher preparation and inadequate curriculum materials are excused because we say or think that the Holy Spirit is the real force. One should not be forced to choose between the work of the Spirit and the work of the educator.

Thirdly, adults, potentially the largest and most varied group in any congregation both in age and experience, are allotted proportionately the smallest amount of money, materials, variety and expertise. Yet everyone knows that adults form the power structures in church and in society. In spite of the above fact, in actual practice, adult education has tended to retain most of its almost century-old patterns.[2] The International Uniform Lesson series is still very much with us. It was adopted in 1872 when less than 10% of adults attended high school, and it focused on attaining religious literacy through systematic

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Bible study. With the passing of the decades, vast changes have emerged. The horizons of ability have been raised. Educational procedures have been revolutionized. Too often, little or nothing has changed with the adult class. Add to this the fact that in many congregations the adults are treated to the same fare as though they all possess identical needs. At least, this is what is implied by supplying only the uniform lessons. This practice assumes that age, socio-economic status, geography, family circumstances and all other similar factors are of little consequence. Reliance upon uniformity implies that all adults somehow fit the same religious mold.

Fourthly, Protestantism in general has been failing to understand the meaning of church as church, tending to interpret church principally in terms of its institutional nature. Howard Grimes suggests that the church be considered both as an organism and a covenant community, believing that these two views serve as a corrective of each other.[3] This means that the church needs to be interpreted in terms of imagery appropriate to the "people of God." God in history is shaping a people for himself. The organizing principle for adult education thus becomes the attempt to discover and to realize what it is to be the faithful people of God now. The context for this kind of education is the community of faith.

In a time of transition, the temptation is to reach out to the fads of the day with little or no critical analysis of their long range value. To avoid this pitfall, one needs to develop historical perspective. This is one way to avoid repeating the errors of the past. Unless we know from whence we have come and the route we have taken it is almost impossible to know where we are and to understand where we are going. The particular heritage finding expression in this project is that of the Believers' Church.

At the very heart of the Believers' Church is the understanding of the church as a covenanting community. The central reality around which the church is shaped is the purpose of God in history to create a people for himself. The organizing principle is the attempt to discover and to realize what it is to be the faithful people of God now.

The context is the community of faith. Key themes are the voluntary nature of the community, discernment of God's historical purposes, and His requirement for the community, ministry, discipline, and mission.

The possibility that the approach of the Believers' Church has for today is identified by Dr. J. Lawrence Burkholder in an address at the 1967 Conference on the Believers' Church.

. . . It is one of the exciting facts of our time that many ideas and practices which have been emphasized by the Believers' Church are being introduced piecemeal into the "established" churches. I refer to the renaissance of the laity, study groups, discussion and missionary outreach. I trust that I am not presumptuous in suggesting that almost all that has been discussed under the rubric of "renewal" except liturgical renewal, points in the direction of the Believers' Church.[4]

The Anglo-Catholic tradition holds that "where the bishop is, there let the church appear." The Protestant tradition maintains that "the church is wherever the sacraments are properly administered and the Word of God is properly preached." There is at least one other stance. The Believers' Church emphasizes covenant community and propounds that it is only in such an understanding of the church that the historical tendencies toward institutionalism and sacramentalism can be overcome.[5] These dangers are well nigh unavoidable when the essence of the church is seen to lie elsewhere than in the relational and communal character of "the people of God" (I Peter 2:9), "body of Christ" (I Corinthians 12:27), and "the fellowship of the Holy Spirit" (II Corinthians 13:14). The Believers' Church does not deny the sociological necessity of creating institutions for the expression of its common life of service to God nor does it reject the celebration of baptism and of the Lord's Supper. However, it does insist that its structures be kept subordinate to and instruments of the personal quality of its fellowship and that its cultic and ceremonial expressions be understood in relational rather than sacramental terms. Thus at the heart of the Believers' Church commitment is the understanding of the church as a covenant community. The purpose of God in history is to create a people for himself. These people are involved in discovering what it means to be the faithful people of God.

The problem in today's church is that a majority of church members have no clear understanding of who they are or what they are called to be as the people of God. At best their understanding is shallow and superficial to the point of constituting a perversion of the gospel. Over the years patterns of ministry and church life have been borrowed and baptized because they were successful—with little or no regard for theological consequences. The basic consideration was pragmatic. As a result, many Christian groups have lost their identity. Abandoning their heritage to become more worldly-wise, many Christian groups now face the possibility of extinction because they are not distinguishable from other active societal agencies or on a dead end street not knowing where they made a wrong turn.

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In the face of all this ferment one can follow the temptation to become nostalgic and long for the "good old days." Another alternative is to go back to explore and discover one's roots—our tradition, our heritage—to inquire what here is of continuing significance and what may be modified in the search for authentic church life today.

The latter course, while filled with intellectual toil, avoids the temptation of reaching out to the fads of the day. In developing historical perspective, one avoids repeating the errors of the past. Unless we know from whence we have come and the route we have taken it is almost impossible to know where we are and to intentionally direct where we are going.

The above insights were both inspiration for and product of the work involved in a doctor of ministry program through the Consortium of Higher Education Religion Studies of the Ohio Region Seminaries. The context of the program was the Jefferson Brethren Church, Goshen, Indiana. Here a body of concerned people joined with their pastor who was involved in the doctor of ministry program to develop a model of adult education appropriate for a Believers' Church and adequate for our times. The nature of what follows is a report of what happens when a group of people covenant together to discover who they are and attempt to express their heritage in a model for the Christian education of adults.

The process of model building requires the ingenuity and energy of a number of persons. Therefore a number of persons were enlisted from the leadership of the congregation to pursue this project. As it happened the number who covenanted together to form the Support Group for this doctor of ministry program was ten. The covenant was a significant part of the project. Through this instrument we became intentional, defining the purpose, describing the structure, delineating the nature of our commitment, and listing the disciplines. The contract was negotiated including all who would be involved in the study of our heritage and the projection of the model.

Next in line was the preparation of a chronological sequence chart depicting the elements and time span of the project. Measurable goals are essential when one is interested in determining progress. The chronological sequence chart graphically portrayed the general goals of the project.

The regular meetings of the Support Group began with a study of our heritage, that of the Believers' Church. A common base for the projection of the model was the goal of this phase of the study. The book *The Believers' Church* by Donald Durnbaugh provided a resource from which our discussions issued.

Six months later a "Summary Statement of the Essence of the Believers' Church" took shape. The document is the fruit of the joint efforts of the Support Group and the Participant. It is as follows:

1. PRIMITIVE: A Spirit-Led Community.
   a. The New Testament and the Early Church have a normative significance.
   b. The church is non-territorial and is called into existence by the Holy Spirit.
   c. Authority resides in the Word and is apprehended by the Spirit.
   d. The major Christian creeds are accepted but truth is viewed as being greater than the creeds.

2. VOLUNTARY: A Covenanting Community.
   a. An Uncoerced faith.
   b. Members covenant with God and each other to live faithfully.
   c. Membership is adult.

3. REGENERATE: A Holy-Living Community.
   a. Baptism is given to all who have learned repentance and amendment of life.
   b. There is separation of church and state.
   c. Discernment of God's will is the task of the church.
   d. Discipleship means Jesus is Lord.
   e. There is non-conformity to the world.
   f. There is renunciation of force and violence in human relationships.

4. VISIBLE: A Disciplined Community.
   a. Concern is for a pure church.
   b. Membership agrees to give and receive loving counsel.
   c. Discipline is viewed as the loving chastisement of a covenant family.
   d. There is the conscious creation of a new order in response to Jesus Christ.
   e. Worship is informal and spontaneous.
   f. Ordinances are joyful celebrations for believers.

5. MISSIONARY: A Caring-Sharing Community.
   a. The mark of the Christian is sharing love.
   b. Members accept the servant ministry of Jesus.
   c. Mutual aid is provided for the brother.
   d. Members identify with the poor and the downtrodden.
   e. Benevolent gifts are given to the poor.
   f. Evangelism means calling people to a new life of costly discipleship.
   g. Ministry belongs to all the members.
   h. There is acceptance of unjust suffering.

The second stage of the study undertaken by the Support Group focused in the area of educational philosophy. We discovered that adults differ significantly from children. While this appears obvious, it hasn't been put into practice in many programs of Christian education. The adult is independent while

the child is dependent. The adult has a vast amount of experience which he brings to any situation. The child is deficient at this very point. Further, the child spends a great deal of time in learning communicative skills. The adult has already accomplished this and wants to move on to learning more related to social roles. Learning experiences for the child are largely future oriented. He is accumulating material for use in the future. He learns what he "ought" as the result of biological development and academic pressure. He wants solutions to contemporary problems. For these reasons the adult should not be treated as a grown-up child.

The following statements by Paul Bergevin help us to appreciate the nature of the adult learner.

1. Adults come to learning programs with a more definite "set" than children;
2. Adult personality is more permanently fixed for good or ill;
3. Adults have more emotional connections with words, situations, institutions, and people than do children;
4. Many learners bring negative feelings with them to the learning situation because they resent authority;
5. Adults are more under the burden of certain stereotypes like personality and belief than children, who are in a more formative stage of development;
6. Inadequacy and failure is more likely to be in the forefront of an adult's mind than of a child's;
7. The adult may see new learning as more of a threat to the balance and integration he has attempted to achieve;
8. Most adults must rather quickly see more relevance and immediacy of application than children do;
9. A group of, say, fifteen adults will usually have more variations in skills, interests, experiences, and education than a similar group of children. They might be considered more highly differentiated;
10. Adult attitudes are difficult to change. If learning is not shaped to fit a real or symptomatic need, the change often will be forgotten or rejected.[6]

The evidence is overwhelming. Treating adults as grown-up children will not provide a satisfactory philosophy for education of adults. Adults are different and these differences need to be recognized in planning education for adults.

The emphasis in the past has been on content for learning. The focus needs to be people. Who are they? What are they like? Why are they as they are? What learning procedures would be in keeping with their nature? What abilities do they have? What needs to be done with these particular people at this time and place?

People will not necessarily respond to a learning program because it is good for them. To involve adult learners, the pro-

gram must provide solutions for their particular problems. In other words, the program must be indigenous.

The need is to begin with people and to begin with people where they are. An analysis of the present situation in which a particular group of adults finds themselves can supply clues to their needs and problems. However, when this has been said it is not to be assumed that we have said enough. The Christian will also need to consider the richness of his heritage in seeking to meet needs and to solve problems. Any educational program that focuses exclusively on contemporary needs will always be less than Christian education.

Pursuing the principle line of thought above leads to the very important idea of developmental tasks set forth by Havighurst. This approach is based on the assumption that a major purpose of Christian education for adults is to assist persons to resolve the problems that face them. Adults respond with willing participation to an educational program which holds out the promise of relevance to their tensions and conflicts enabling them to achieve a philosophy of life that has some prospect of effectiveness. This is not to be done at the expense of theology for it all happens in a distinctly Christian context.

A person's expectations, whether he be administrator, leader, or participant, have much to do with the success of any learning situation. This leads to the requirement of dialogue between all involved. Reconciliation of expectations does not mean that the learner tells others how to teach or what ought to be taught. However, it does recognize that the learner may have some useful ideas about content and procedure. People tend to support what they have opportunity to plan.

The voluntary aspect of any learning program is also of importance. Adults need many opportunities to select content, choose leaders, determine time, place and length of meetings and procedures. Such action makes the learner feel as though he counts for something, that he is important enough to make a contribution and to be listened to. When we begin with persons as our base, it is to be expected that learning will be more personal. The active involvement of learners in planning and evaluating the educational experience assists all to share the responsibility for the learning experience. We can best become responsible for our own learning and the learning of others when we actively participate in the process. Closely allied to the above is the principle of ego involvement. This principle says that learning is an internal process. The learner learns what he learns and this is not necessarily the same as what is taught. It says that to be effective learning experiences require involve-

ment. Ego involvement is a precondition for learning and demands that the locus of responsibility for what happens during our time together is the responsibility of the group.

Another principle is that Christian nurture is related inversely to the size of the group. As the group increases beyond ten to twelve the effectiveness decreases. Related to this is the idea set forth by Reuel Howe and Randolph C. Miller that Christian teaching takes place in the quality of relationship which the learner experiences. Persons learn most effectively in a group that is small enough so that members can get to know each other and interact in face-to-face relationships. This size group allows for the possibility of participation by everyone.

From the very beginning it was decided that the class structure needed to be small face-to-face groups. This meant training teachers to become facilitators. Leadership was to be shared but not extinguished. This meant that passive pupils needed to become responsible learners, persons who were responsible for their own learning and the learning of others.

Insights from the small group movement would need to be shared with class facilitators who replaced teachers. The general format for class sessions would follow that proposed by Lyman Coleman. Classes would begin with a beverage and cookies. This gives people a physical outlet for anxiety and feelings of uncertainty. This ritual happens naturally as participants gather. Then the group proceeds to "warm-up" activities.

The next step is a natural transference to topic consideration and then on to task or mission. The duration of any group's time together could be sketched as follows:[7]

Beginning ——————> 13 week ——————> ending

| Personal Growth and Study |
| Group Building |
| Task or Mission |
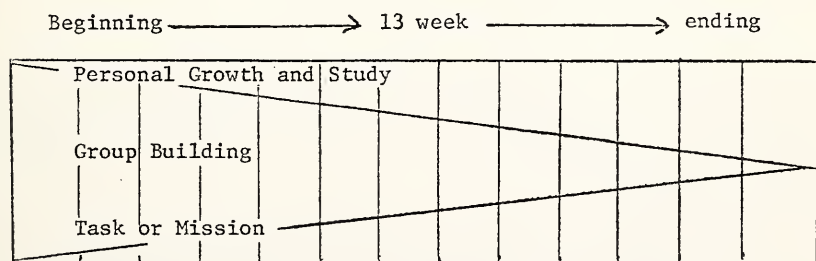
The third stage of the study of the Support Group was a community survey. The purpose was to determine the thinking and needs of our immediate geographical community with regards to the Christian education of adults. Assistance in formulating the questionnaire, planning procedures, and interpreting results was derived from the book, *What My People Think* by George Gallup and John Davies.

Now, at last, we were ready to project the model Malcolm Knowles has provided as a process. An adaption of his diagram is found below:[8]

```
    Individual              Societal                Subject
      Needs                   Needs                  Needs
              \              ┌─  ─┐          ┌─  ─┐          /
               \            │    │          │    │        /
                \           │    │          │    │      /
                 \          └─  ─┘          └─  ─┘    /
Assessed          \                                /
  Needs;           \                             /
                    \                          /
    │                \___                  ___/
    │                    │Institutional  │
    ▼                    │Purposes--     │
are screened         Institutional       │
through the            Purposes--        │
filters of:                              │
    │                                    │
    │                Feasibility--│      │
    │                    \               /
    ▼                     \      /\     /
                           \    /  \   /
to procedure           Operational  Educational
                        Objectives   Objectives
```

This is the procedure the Support Group employed to construct a model for the adult Christian education of the congregation:

Individual needs of our people were identified.

Societal needs were determined by the community survey reported elsewhere.

Because we have a Christian commitment, this has implications as to content. A study of the redeeming activity of the Creator God is imperative. The biblical text and the theologizing process are essential considerations.

Next, the needs were filtered through institutional purposes; namely, our heritage and destiny. By identifying the essence of the Believers' Church and then projecting their implications for the Christian education of adults, we arrived at the following:

I.   PRIMITIVE: A Spirit-Led Community

The New Testament and the Early Church have a normative significance. The Scriptures are important and need to comprise a significant part of the curriculum.

The family needs to be reestablished to a key role in education of its members.

Our ecclesiology:
     —the church is a covenant community
     —the purpose of God in history is to create a people for himself
     —discover what it means to be the faithful people of God.

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II. VOLUNTARY: A Covenanting Community

Emphasis is upon adult education.

Education proceeds in the context of community: class leader in place of teacher, face-to-face groups in place of classes, procedure is discovery and sharing in place of lecture and discussion, shared leadership.

Variety with the possibility of choice is necessary in the curriculum. (Personal interests and Christian maturity.)

III. REGENERATE: A Holy Living Community

Membership preparation needs to be a significant part of the curriculum.

There needs to be provision for the discernment of members' gifts and development of a ministry expressing these gifts.

An "equipping ministry" to prepare members for service.

A section on a distinctively Christian lifestyle needs to be a part of the curriculum.

IV. VISIBLE: A Disciplined Community

The Ordinances of the church are to be viewed as educational settings.

Learners must share equal responsibility for learning with leaders.

Learning needs to be intentional—

Covenant at beginning of course so a person can—
—evaluate where he is
—define where he wants to go
—what he will do.

Evaluation at conclusion of course.

V. MISSIONARY: A Caring-Sharing Community

Development of a caring-sharing attitude in the membership is to be considered an educational task.

Social dimensions of the gospel need emphasis in the curriculum.

Development of a community that can share their faith.

Next comes a projection of operational objectives and educational objectives.

Operationally, we were committed to small, face-to-face groups. This passed through the filter intact. Class sessions are in every way training for life in the congregation. Small groups of up to twelve persons meet around tables for thirteen sessions.

Educationally, the class offerings for any one quarter are to be read horizontally (Exhibit I). This means that an adult has a possibility of ten courses from which to make his selection. (Caution: it must be remembered that the reader is seeing the fruition of six years experimentation, study and projection. This IS NOT WHERE WE BEGAN. THIS IS WHERE WE ARE NOW!)

Vertically, the chart lists areas or categories with a three year projection. Thus it is possible for a learner to select a category and continue in a concentrated study for a three year

period. Secondly, from the standpoint of economics, it is possible to reuse textbooks on a three year cycle which would not be feasible on a longer cycle.

Categories were determined by employing the mix described earlier. A biblical base is required by virtue of the fact that Christianity is a revealed religion. This is cared for by offerings in *Bible General,* meaning introduction, survey, and life of Christ; *Old Testament* because it serves as the beginning of God's revelation and as a base for the New Testament; *New Testament* because from our heritage comes the motto that "The New Testament is our rule for faith and practice." The category *Doctrine* provides opportunity to theologize. Constantly from congregation and community comes the cry for help as family; therefore, we have a category, *Christian Family.* The category *Church* focuses attention on our heritage. If we are to continue as a congregation in a responsible way, we must know who we are. Our heritage emphasizes the ministry of the laity. If the laity is to minister, it must be equipped. This is the rationale for the category labeled *Ministry. Christian Living* is a category of offerings that keeps us open to the world, the making of ethical decisions and relating to others.

Other means that we are open to "new light" or new possibilities in the areas of offerings unknown to us at this point.

The three year cycle does not lock us in as far as course offerings. It is expected that every three years the offerings— and to a lesser extent the categories—will be revised.

Please remember that the *process* of establishing this schedule of offerings is what we want to share. We present the schedule so that you will be encouraged to engage in the process.

Some of the spin off of the experimental phase of the project is an extensive bibliography for the courses. Members of the Ministry of Christian Education previewed the resources listed in the bibliography and have made recommendations with regard to their suitability for usage in our situation. Resources are qualified by appropriate designations so that the student-participants may determine the degree of difficulty and have some insight as to the value of the respective works. These categories have been established with the laity in mind. They have not been arranged for professional clergymen or biblical scholars. Bibliography is keyed to the course offerings indicated in the "Curriculum for the Adult Elective Series" (Exhibit I). [The bibliography, which includes eleven pages of resource material, cannot be presented here. Anyone interested in pursuing this aspect of the model may contact Professor Allison at Ashland Theological Seminary.]

Additional facets of our course offerings for the Christian education of adults include an instrument for intentionality, an adult class covenant and an instrument for evaluation.

It is not our intent to manage adults in the area of their Christian education. We simply want to assist them in making appropriate choices. The instrument is designed with the purpose of enabling a person to identify his growing edge, that area where he is both able and willing to learn, and thereby to assist the person in making a selection from the course offerings that will provide for him a meaningful experience. (Exhibit II).

The "Adult Class Covenant" is negotiated as a part of the first class session. It is designed to accomplish mutuality at the points of subject, leadership style, participation and general expectations. (Exhibit III)

The instrument for evaluation is simply that, an evaluation of the experience of the participant by the participant. In addition, there is the opportunity to offer suggestions for the future of the program. The evaluation is of the program and not the participant. (Exhibit IV)

This experience has been invaluable to me personally. Through it I have discovered an educational process labeled "andragogy." It has tranference value in that it works with almost any adult group. It makes learning exciting. At the heart of the CHERS program is the concept of self-initiated learning. It is revolutionary in that it breaks with the traditional, authoritative, transmissional approach. It is exciting because motivational factors are built in and the cycle of its process raises the next issues to pursue. Also, there was exposure to ideas from Paulo Freiere such as "critical consciousness" and "intentionality." This was all very stimulating.

Personal contact with peers involved in the program, the expertise of core faculty members and advisors and summer colloquy have been enriching. Exposure to other traditions such as Methodist, Lutheran and Roman Catholic has added breadth to my own understanding and has greatly improved my appreciation for their perspective.

Through the program, I have grown in poise and in my ability to communicate a position. In my case it was a position that was not generally understood. I feel very positive about the program.

Professionally, I have firmed-up my own theology of ministry and this has assisted me in the practical way of equipping persons for ministry. I have gained a new appreciation for hard data in the decision making process as a replacement for impressions. In addition, I have developed skills in the formulation

of instruments for survey and evaluation. I have a new appreciation for the reflective process in education. I have developed skills in bringing change by negotiation and I am now able to detach myself somewhat from the success or failure of a program.

This project has opened up a new opportunity for me, that of teaching Christian education at the seminary level.

Most important of all is the fact that the project has produced a viable model for adult Christian education that is still operative two years after my departure from the administration of the program. The model was not a narrow structure but a process that others have expressed an interest in. This process has been shared directly with twenty-five other congregations and two seminaries. Indirectly, it has been shared with over two hundred persons and/or congregations through a brochure. Add to this the fact that a group of people have been equipped for carrying on this expanding program and for leadership in the congregation and one has the ingredients for an exciting experience.

FOOTNOTES

[1] C. Ellis Nelson, "Is Church Education Something Particular?" *Religious Education,* LXLII, 1972, p. 8.

[2] Lawrence C. Little, ed. *The Future Course Of Christian Adult Education* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959), p. 219.

[3] Howard Grimes, *The Church Redemptive* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958), pp. 32-34.

[4] Lawrence Burkholder, "A People in Community: Contemporary Relevance," in *The Concept of the Believers' Church,* ed. by James Leo Garrett, Jr. (Scottdale: Herald Press, 1969), p. 180.

[5] Ross Bender, *The People of God* (Scottdale: Herald Press, 1971), p. 141.

[6] Paul Bergevin and John McKinley, *Adult Education for the Church* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1971), pp. 5-6.

[7] Lyman Coleman, *Rays* (Waco: Word, Inc., 1972), pp. 18-19.

[8] Malcolm S. Knowles, *The Modern Practice of Adult Education* (New York: Association Press, 1973), p. 127.

EXHIBIT I

CURRICULUM FOR THE ADULT ELECTIVE SERIES   JEFFERSON BRETHREN CHURCH SCHOOL   GOSHEN, INDIANA

Date	BIBLE GENERAL	OLD TESTAMENT	NEW TESTAMENT	NEW TESTAMENT	DOCTRINE	CHRISTIAN FAMILY	CHURCH	MINISTRY	CHRISTIAN LIVING	OTHER
1-1	Intro to Bible	Genesis	Phil-Thes	Acts	God	Christian Family	Church of Our Fathers	Body Life	Life Worth Living	Witness
1-2	O.T. Intro	Ex-Num	Galatians	Acts	Christ	Understanding Y. Mate	Believers' Church	Church Growth	Personal Discoveries	Male-Female
1-3	N.T. Intro	Lev-Deut	I Cor	Tim-Titus	Holy Spirit	Studies in Chr. Living	Reformation	Learning To Lead	No Longer Strangers	Profiles of Faith O.T.
1-4	Survey (Early History)	Josh-Ruth	II Cor	John-Jude	Basic Christian.	Family in Today's Soc.	Our Heritage	Prayer	Christian Experience	Profiles of Faith N.T.
2-1	Survey (Later History)	Samuel	Romans	John	Know What You Believe	Parent-Child	Church	Give Away Y. Faith	Facing Fears	Religions of the World
2-2	Survey (The Prophets)	Kings	Jam-Pet	John	Know Why You Believe	Fun to Be With	Brethren History	Creating Community World	Tangled	First of all Persons
2-3	Survey (Gospels-Acts)	Psalms	Col-Phile	Revelation	Christian Doct. I	Personal Relations	Church Leaders	Leading A Group	Jesus Conf. Life Prob.	Transactional Analysis
2-4	Survey (Epistles-Rev.)	Job	Ephesians	God and His People	Christian Doct. II	Family Enrichment	Denom. Concerns	Music	Understand Self	Message from 1st Century
3-1	Life of Jesus	Prov-Song	Mark	Interpre Scripture	Christian Doct III	P.E.T.	Peace	Prayer	Facing Issues I	
3-2	Sermon on Mount	Joel-Mic	Hebrews	Apocrypha	Christian Doct IV	Family Life Education	Brethren Beliefs	New Face for Church	Facing Issues II	
3-3	Parables	Isaiah	Luke	Ezek-Dan	Studies in Salvation	Faith in Families	Emerging Church	Church Renewal	Facing Issues III	
3-4	Life of Paul	Jeremiah	Matthew	Esth-Mal	Eschatol	Dare to Discipl.	Brethren Missions	Communic. God News	Facing Issues IV	

EXHIBIT II

This sheet is an instrument designed by the Ministry of Christian Education to assist you in selecting a course for the next quarter in our adult elective program. In making decisions of this nature, it is helpful to know who we are and where we are. This sheet is offered as an opportunity for identifying this kind of information.

1. Rate your knowledge in the following areas by placing an X on the continuum indicating where you are.

   (None) ☞ (Very Knowledgeable)

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A. Old Testament											
B. New Testament											
C. Church History											
D. Christian Life											
E. Christian Doctrine											
F. Contemporary Situation											

2. Identify the growing edge of your Christian experience. (Growing edge: That place in your life where you are ready and able to learn.)
3. What courses have you chosen during the past year from the adult elective curriculum?
   A.
   B.
   C.
   D.
4. What additional experiences have you had in the area of Christian education that have proved to be beneficial personally?
5. What course do you plan to register for next quarter?
6. How do you anticipate that the course will add to your experience?
   ( ) Increased knowledge
   ( ) Change of attitude
   ( ) Motivation to action
   ( ) Development of a skill

EXHIBIT III

ADULT CLASS COVENANT

1. What is the subject on which this group will focus?
2. Why did you select this course?
3. Who will provide leadership for this group?
4. What group disciplines have you agreed on?
   a. Attendance
   b. Preparation
   c. Contribution
   d. Other
5. What do you intend to accomplish from this group experience?
6. Other decisions agreed on by this group:

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EXHIBIT IV

JEFFERSON BRETHREN CHURCH
ADULT CHURCH SCHOOL EVALUATION

Course _____ Leader _____

1. I found the course to be:
   - ( ) interesting
   - ( ) helpful
   - ( ) boring
   - ( ) difficult

2. For others, I would recommend that this course:
   - ( ) be repeated
   - ( ) be repeated with alterations
   - ( ) be dropped

3. In guiding class study, the leader:
   - ( ) challenged us
   - ( ) did the best he could
   - ( ) gave little incentive to learn

4. In the learning process, I feel that:
   - ( ) our goals were clearly identifed
   - ( ) our concern was person centered
   - ( ) we wasted a lot of time
   - ( ) there were too many words and little action
   - ( ) a variety of learning experiences were used

5. Did you get to know all persons who attended?
   - ( ) yes   ( ) no

6. Were the facilities adequate?   Comment:
   - ( ) yes   ( ) no

7. How often did you attend the class session this quarter?
   - ( ) every Sunday
   - ( ) at least one half the time

8. How often did you come prepared (assignments completed, lesson read, etc.)
   - ( ) every Sunday
   - ( ) at least one half the time
   - ( ) seldom

9. Please rank the following course areas in the order of importance to you:
   - _____ Bible Study
   - _____ Church
   - _____ Doctrine
   - _____ Practical Christian Living

10. A course that I would like to see offered is:

11. What personal goals were realized through your participation in the course?
    - ( ) Increased knowledge
    - ( ) Change of attitude
    - ( ) Motivation to action
    - ( ) Development of a skill

12. Other comments or suggestions:

The Testing of Simulation/Gaming as a Viable Tool in Christian Education at the College Level

Donald R. Rinehart

THOMAS CARLYLE once wrote, "The man who cannot wonder is but a pair of spectacles behind which there are no eyes."

Of course, those involved in study programs or research seldom have the problem of wondering, of generating questions, or of discovering myriads of unresolved problems. The greater problem is learning to discipline ones' self to be able to focus on the limited issues.

Many of us wonder. For myself, within an academic setting such as Ashland College, and more specifically within the Religion Department of the same, I began to wonder, How does a teaching faculty member share the reality of the content of Jewish/Christian scripture without surreptitiously inserting his own doctrine on the students? How do we assist students to know God and His love? Do students know this once they are able to write out an examination, giving back the information given them? Is it possible to know the love (reality) of God until one has participated in the love of God? Beyond each of these questions is yet a more inclusive question which probably ties them all together: How can we most effectively, or at least more effectively communicate the content of Old and New Testament scripture?

With these concerns in the background, the focus of my study was to test the value of simulation/gaming as a viable tool in Christian Education at the college level. I was interested in knowing whether involvement-learning, such as simulation/ gaming, would motivate the student to:

1. learn more factual Biblical content?
2. give a higher affective perceptive rating to Biblical courses, as compared to the same courses taught with the lecture/ discussion method?

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The context for that study was Ashland College, a four year, church related liberal arts institution. In the fall semester, 1972, the year in which this program was initiated, church preference of student enrollment was reported;

No preference	33.29%
Catholic	16.69%
United Methodist	14.96%
Presbyterian	12.11%
Lutheran	6.68%
Brethren	2.40%
Jewist	.42%

Ashland College, like many church related colleges, has retained a religion requirement for graduation. This means that the majority of students complete both Old and New Testament courses before graduating. With the broad spectrum of religious beliefs and non-beliefs, it remains a challenge to effectively teach these required Bible courses.

Teaching any subject is a complicated task, partly because as teachers and students we are each a product of our past, and partly because it is as crucial to know ourselves as it is to master the content of a given subject. We can not fully understand who we are at a given moment apart from seeing how we have come to be up to that present time. Because we are not creatures of a moment, and because we have not arrived into being instantly out of nothing, we then bring our past experiences, values, goals and hopes with us into every learning situation.

Ross Snyder has said,

> Man lives out of a future that is connected with a particular past and is present right here and now. The past is resource, evidence of ourselves as an identity, background out of which we can emerge. The present—the lived moment—is the reality, but our energies are called forth by the becoming future whose pulse we feel in the present. (Ross Snyder, *Young People and Their Culture*, p. 28)

Teaching at any grade level is rewarding, but it is especially exciting to be teaching at the college level. College students are still connected to a past and are in the midst of sorting through their resources, facing the new reality of life apart from parents and entering into the struggles and opportunities of the future. At this point in life, it is no longer practical for them just to read about the past and be comfortable because somebody then said, "yes" to the becoming of their time. Many students find that they can't live off their parents' "yes" to God. As Snyder suggests,

> We can live only in the immediacies of the kingdom of God in each moment of our life. Each lived moment brings a fresh con-

sciousness of time's fullness. And our "yes" will be made because
we are able to recognize the presence of the kingdom of God in
the situation before us. (Ibid.)

And so the speculation and wondering goes on: Are the
best teaching methods being used? How can each student be
met at his/her immediate level of learning? Are there means
and methods of moving students beyond present attitudes
toward learning? Why? How? When? Is there a better or more
effective means of presenting Biblical truths?

With all of those questions of the present moment sensi-
tizing my mind, I was then beginning to wonder if a limited
number of simulation/games would create any significant dif-
ference in the student's cognitive knowledge and their affective
perception in the Bible classes.

The primary purpose of my Doctor of Ministry program
was eventually brought into focus. I would attempt to examine
available simulation/games to determine the usability of games
within the context of Bible Survey courses at the college level.
More specifically, and perhaps more technically, this study was
to determine, in a field testing environment consisting of six
New Testament Bible Survey classes, three control and three
experimental, using three to five hours of treatment, what effect
the use of simulation/games has on the student's cognitive re-
tention of facts, concepts, and principles.

The second purpose of the study was to determine what
effect simulation/gaming has on students' affective perceptions
of the learning process in which they are involved.

The third purpose of the study was to determine what
effect simulation/gaming has on student evaluation both of the
course and the instructor where games have been used as com-
pared with similar classes not using games, as measured by a
standardized student evaluation instrument?

Description of the Process to Achieve Program Goals

My interest in gaming preceeded the Doctor of Ministry
program by seven or eight years. During that time, I had ex-
perimented with numerous games and had adapted several of
them for specific learning situations, but I came away from
those learning experiences with little, if any concrete evidence
of their value in learning. These games were first used in
a parish setting; when I moved from a pastoral ministry to the
college campus, I continued to experiment with them. One of
the games that I began to use on a regular basis in my
New Testament classes seemed to have high student appeal, and
at the same time it helped move the students to a deeper level
of understanding of the Biblical concepts of trust and covenant.

As I entered into the Doctor of Ministry program in the Fall of 1972, I knew I would focus my program on my context of ministry, Ashland College. I also knew that I would do something related to my course work, but initially the greatest concern seemed to be Youth Ministry. Eventually the Bible classes and the possible limited use of games in the same seemed to be both interesting and practical, in terms of future ministry. After several critiquing sessions with the Cleveland Regional Peer Group, gaming seemed to be the inevitable choice.

After enlisting both a Core Faculty and a Support Group, I began the long, arduous task of writing an acceptable proposal. During the proposal building stage, there were opportunities to attend several simulation gaming workshops and seminars, which proved helpful in several ways:

1. I was able to participate in a variety of games.
2. These facilitated the gathering of information on games either played or discussed.
3. It provided a better understanding of the role of the game facilitator.

Perhaps the most difficult part of the program was attempting to convince the Support Group of the value of gaming. By design, the participant in the Doctor of Ministry program must enlist a Support Group and, by the completion of the program, it is expected that they will be equipped in some significant way for ministry. In my case, the Support Group consisted of five persons, plus myself. Two of the men were fellow members of the Religion Department at Ashland College. Another member was a recent graduate of Ashland Theological Seminary who had been hired as campus minister at the college. The remaining two members were students at Ashland College. Only the campus minister had any previous experience with games. According to the time line established, my immediate task was that of equipping the Support Group so that they could facilitate games. This was accomplished through an experimental simulation/gaming course that had been designed and offered during the Fall semester, 1973. Support Group members participated in a number of games and also facilitated several games. During the second semester the Support Group members moved in different directions to pursue their own interests in gaming. The two faculty members joined me in testing the effectiveness of games used in New Testament Bible classes. The campus minister conducted a number of retreats each time using several games. The students continued their study of gaming, one of the students working through an independent study course in the area of game design.

Near the end of the first semester, '73, Support Group members worked very diligently attempting to locate three or four games that would be acceptable to each of the three faculty members. Though the games were to be used only in New Testament classes, we found that each of us had differences of views and interests to contend with and that now it was necessary to enter into some theological dialogue in order to come to some agreement. This proved to be a very rewarding part of the program because it provided each of us the opportunity to rethink and reaffirm our course objectives.

Testing, of course has its price. I was willing to pay the price because it was my program, but there were times when I found it necessary to remind the other men that I needed their cooperation, knowing full well that it was taking some freedom with their normal teaching styles as well as interrupting their teaching schedules with additional tests.

Finally, during Spring semester, 1974, six New Testament classes were selected and randomly designated as either a control group or an experimental group. Each of the three faculty members had one control group and one experimental group. Pre-testing showed that there was no significant difference between the control groups and the experimental groups in terms of their cognitive knowledge of the New Testament. During the course of the semester, then, each of the three faculty members introduced the same three games into the experimental classes, using about four hours of treatment. The control classes covered the same material, but only lecture/discussion methods were employed in those classes. At the end of the semester three evaluative instruments were administered. A post-test cognitive instrument was given, which was the same test given at the beginning of the semester. An affective perception instrument was administered as well as a standardized student evaluation instrument.

Testing Results

The results of the testing phase of the program were interesting. It was during this time that I kept flirting with the question, "Has the program produced positive results for all concerned?" My journal, a requirement for each of the participants, reveals that at the time I completed the testing phase of the program, I didn't care, because I was so relieved to have completed that part of the program. But as I began to reflect on the question, I concluded there were many good results from this program.

The value of this program extends far beyond the testing of simulation games in the college Bible classes. It was inter-

esting to attempt to integrate theology with other disciplines, such as education and learning theories and educational research. The ecumenical involvement of Core Faculty, Support Group, Regional Peer Group, School of Participants and Coordinating Committee, along with the community interaction of each of these components helped significantly to bring pertinent issues into focus.

Another result was that after completing the experimental course in simulation/gaming and evaluating the course, I decided not to teach the same course again, but rather to redesign it and give it a broader base so as to include other areas of involvement learning. The result was that a new course has been approved by the curriculum committee which includes human relation exercises, simulation games and an introduction to small group process.

Of course, the results of testing were of great interest to me. The first purpose of this study was to determine what effect the use of simulation/games in the college New Testament Bible Survey classes had on the students' cognitive retention of facts, concepts and principles. The hypothesis, stated in null form, was designed to test for significance of difference between the control and experimental classes on a measure of cognitive achievement. Statistical analysis of the data for the purpose of testing the hypothesis was computed through the use of a T-test. This procedural computation reported the mean scores, Standard Deviation, Standard Error of Measure, and a Reliability of Co-efficient of test/retest.

The null form of the hypothesis is stated below.

1. At the conclusion of one semester of study, using three to five hours of gaming, there will be no significant difference between the control groups (lecture-discussion format) and the experimental groups (combination simulation/gaming and lecture-discussion format) on a measure of cognitive achievement.

A report of the findings on the cognitive measure follows.

SUMMARY OF DATA
FOR THE
ASHLAND COLLEGE BIBLE KNOWLEDGE TEST

	Experimental		Control	
	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Pre-Test	Post-Test
N	68	68	70	70
M	19.19	28.34	19.35	28.63
SD	7.36	8.33	6.68	7.52
SM	0.89	1.01	0.798	0.898

r .70
PL .01

A total of 138 students (N) completed both the pre-test and the post-test. On the fifty item test, called the Ashland College Bible Knowledge Test, the mean (M) score for all students on the pre-test was 19.275. The post-test mean score for all students was 28.48.

By comparison, students in the experimental classes had a mean score of 19.19 on the pre-test, while students in the control classes had a mean score of 19.35. The adjusted mean score of the two groups was not statistically significant.

At the end of the semester, students in the experimental classes had a mean score of 28.34 on the post-test, while students in the control classes had a mean score of 28.63. The difference between the adjusted mean scores of the control group and experimental group on the post-test measure was not statistically significant.

The results of the tests indicate that the use of the games in the Bible classes made little, if any difference in terms of retention of factual material taught in the classes. The use of different games, or the use of different tests, or both, could produce different results. The limited use of games, in this particular case, however, yielded no evidence to support the value of games to more effectively teach factual material.

The second purpose of the study was to determine what effect the use of simulation/games had on students' affective perceptions of the learning process in which they were involved. In order to examine this effect, a hypothesis was designed in the null form. Analysis of the data for this purpose was done through the use of frequency and percentage computation.

The null form of the hypothesis is stated below.

2. At the conclusion of one semester of study, using three to five hours of gaming, there will be no marked difference between experimental and control groups on a measure of affective perception.

Combined responses for the control groups and combined responses for the experimental groups revealed only slight trends favoring the experimental groups. However, when responses were tabulated for each individual instructor, there was not a consistant pattern favoring the experimental group. What became apparent was that students responded very favorably to the use of games by the one faculty member who tends to lecture rather than normally encouraging much student dialogue. In the two other classes, where students were encouraged to interact with each other and the professor, there were fewer trends favoring the experimental groups. This may indi-

cate that the specific method of instruction is not as important as some kind of balance between lecture and other methods of instruction that will permit student interaction. Indeed, teacher expectations and/or student perception may be more important than the method of instruction. At any rate, a summation of responses for the twenty item Student Affective Perception Instrument follows:

1. Students in the experimental groups did not volunteer answers to teacher questions on material being presented any more than students in the control groups.

2. Students in the experimental groups spent less time preparing for the New Testament classes than did the students in the control groups.

3. Students in both groups equally disagreed with the statement, "The teaching method used in this class has caused a decrease in my interest level toward religion."

4. In response to the question, "How well do you like this New Testament class?" each of the experimental classes had a higher percentage of students who selected, "I like it very much" or, "I like it," as compared with the control classes. The instructor who normally tends to lecture, had a significant difference favoring the experimental group.

5. "Of the several methods used, the lecture method of teaching was the most beneficial to learning." Seventy-one point nine percent of the control group said, "I strongly agree," or "I agree," while 73.1% of the experimental group made the same response.

6. There was no difference in the use of the library as a result of using the games.

7. "My interest in religion has decreased as a result of taking this class." Eighty-seven point eight percent of the control group said they disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement while 93.3% of the experimental group said they disagreed.

8. Fifty-two point four percent of the control group believed the lecture method to be most beneficial to the learning process, while 53.9% of the experimental group selected lecture. Twenty point two percent of the experimental group selected simulation/games as most beneficial.

9. When students were asked if they could learn useful knowledge from fellow students, 68.3% of the control group said, yes, while 77.6% of the experimental gave a positive response.

10.   Students in the control group said they tended to read outside materials related to class topics more so than students in the experimental group.

11.   "As a result of having taken this class, my personal attitude toward people is now less open to people with different values." Those who said, "I disagree," or, "I strongly disagree," included 57.3% of the control group and 62.9% of the exprimental group.

12.   "My ability to reach an understanding of religious issues in group situations with my peers has:" either, "Increased markedly," or, "Somewhat increased," according to 70.7% of the control group and 83.1% of the experimental group.

13.   Increased active participation in this class was marked by 36.6% of the control group and 33.7% of the experimental group.

14.   Fifty-four percent of both groups said they agreed that this class has been a strong influence in helping me to be concerned about other people.

15.   Sixty-five point eight percent of the control group said they believed religion to be a very important part of their life at this point in their life, while 56.2% of the experimental group made the same response.

16.   A marked difference existed in favor of the control group in response to the following statement, "In general, students in this class do not volunteer answers to teacher questions on material being presented."

17.   "How would you describe your attitude toward religion at the beginning of the semester?" Fifty-three point six percent of the control group said positive or very positive, while 55.0% of the experimental group said the same. Those indicating negative or very negative included 9.8% of the control group and 14.6% of the experimental group.

18.   Sixty-five point eight percent of the control group said that having nearly completed this course they would recommend a similar course to a friend, while 64.2% of the experimental group said the same.

19.   When asked if the content of the New Testament is more important to themselves than how the content is presented, 40.2% of the control group said yes, and 35.9% of the experimental group said yes.

20.   "If you were permitted the opportunity to select the method of teaching to be used most often in this course, which of the following would it be?" Thirty-nine percent of the control group selected lecture, while 38.2% of the experimental group

selected lecture. The experimental group also had 14.6% that selected simulation/games.

For the most part, according to the above responses, students did not believe that the limited use of games made a greater contribution to the learning process when compared with the responses of the control group.

The third purpose of the study was to determine what effect simulation/gaming has on student evaluation of both the course and the instructor where games have been used as compared with similar classes not using games as measured by a standardized student evaluation instrument. In order to examine this effect, a hypothesis was designed in the null form. Analysis of the data for this purpose was done through the use of percentage computation.

The null form of the hypothesis is stated below.

3.   At the conclusion of one semester of study, using three to five hours of gaming, there will be no significant difference between the control groups and the experimental groups on a measure of student evaluation of both the course and the instructor.

Because of the large number of items (48) included in the Course and Instructor Evaluation Instrument, I have elected to mention in detail only those items that have a trend difference of .05 or greater, or a marked difference of .10 or greater. It should be noted that this evaluation form was used to evaluate every course and instructor at Ashland College during the Spring semester, 1974, the semester during which this study was being conducted.

The results of the Course and Instructor Evaluation Instrument follow.

1.   "The objectives of this course were not clear."   (5.5% + E) Five point five percent more of the experimental group disagreed, as compared with the control group.

2.   "The course held my interest."   (1.5% + E)

3.   "Not much was gained by taking this course."   (2.2% + E)

4.   "The text used in this course was helpful."   (6.5% + E)   Eighty-six point seven percent of the control group said they agreed, while 93.2% of the experimental group agreed.

5.   "Assigned readings (other than text) were helpful." (20.4% + E)   Each of the three instructors had a marked difference favoring the experimental group. Instructor (A) had a marked difference of 21.9%. Instructor (B) had a marked difference of 14.2%, and Instructor (C) had a marked differ-

ence of 25.0%. While students had limited reading assignments, other than the text, they were required to research the various religious groups represented at Jesus' trial. The use of that information in the simulation (What Shall We Do With Jesus?) may be what is being reflected, as compared with the discussion of the same material in the control groups.

6. "I did not understand this course." (3.2% + E)

7. "I would recommend this course to others." (2.6% + E)

8. "The course material seemed worthwhile." (9.8% + E) Instructor (A) reported a 13.9% marked difference in favor of the experimental group, while instructor (B) had a 11.8% marked difference.

9. "This was the best course I have ever taken." (3.6% + E)

10. "The instructional material was easy to follow." (3.6% + E)

11. "The course demanded too much outside reading." (2.3% + C)

12. "The pace of the course was too fast." (1.5% + E)

13. "This course had excellent content." (10.5% + E) Instructor (A), who tends not to encourage much student dialogue in his classes, reported a 19.9% marked difference, with a percentile spread of 70.6% to 90.5% in favor of the experimental group. Instructor (B) reported a percentile spread of 77.8% to 82.3%, while Instructor (C) had a non-marked difference from 89.3% to 96.4%. Each favored the experimental group.

14. "The content of the course was too elementary for me." (No difference) Ninty-four point three percent of the control group disagreed with this statement, while 94.1% of the experimental group made the same response.

15. "This course was a very valuable one for me." (No difference)

16. "This course was a complete waste of my time." (4.7% + E) Instructor (A) reported a marked difference of 14.1%, with a difference spread of 76.4% of the control group disagreeing and 90.5% of the experimental group disagreeing. Instructors (B) and (C) had no difference.

17. "Over-all the course was good." (1.9% + C)

18. "Information obtained before enrolling in this course was consistent with course content." (1.2% + E)

19. "Other courses in this general area of study would be of interest to me." (2.8% + E)

20. "This course was inconsistent with my overall college objectives." (3.0% + C)

21. "The instructor stimulated my curiosity about this subject." (No difference)

22. "The instructor encouraged alternative views." (3.3% + C)

23. "The instructor was receptive to the expression of student views." (1.3% + E)

24. "Classroom sessions were worthwhile." (No difference)

25. "My course responsibilities were clearly defined." (2.0% + E)

26. "Help from the instructor outside of class was good." (11.0% + E) Again Instructor (A), who tends not to encourage much student dialogue, showed a strong marked difference of 16.2% in favor of the experimental group. It is difficult to know whether indeed there was more help given, or whether students simply perceived the instructors as being more open to helping.

27. "Too much work was assigned outside of class." (2.1% + C)

28. "Teaching appeared to be a chore or routine activity to the instructor." (3.0% + E)

29. "This course was poorly organized." (1.3% + E)

30. "The instructor held the interest of the class." (2.6% + E)

31. "I think the course was taught poorly." (3.3% + E)

32. "I liked this method of instruction." (No difference)

33. "Ideas and concepts were developed too vaguely." (No difference)

34. "Another method of instruction would have been more helpful." (6.6% + E) Control and experimental groups for both instructors (B) and (C) gave identical responses. Instructor (A) reported a marked difference of 19.9% favoring the experimental group. Seventy point six percent of the control group said they disagreed, while 90.6% of the experimental group disagreed.

35. "I would take another course that was taught in this manner." (0.9% + E)

36. "The teaching methods used were not appropriate for this course." (3.5% + E) Again Instructor (A) had

a marked difference of 12.8% favoring the experimental group. The range of those who disagreed with the statement included 82.4% for the control group and 95.2% for the experimental group.

37. "The instructor seemed to be interested in students as persons." (3.8% + E)

38. "The instructor knew the subject, but could not communicate it to the students." (4.0% + E)

39. "The instructor failed to synthesize, integrate, or summarize effectively." (0.6% + C)

40. "The instructor discouraged the development of new viewpoints and appreciations." (No difference)

41. "Student participation was lacking in this course." (3.5% + C)

42. "The instructor possessed a thorough knowledge of his subject." (1.2% + E) It is interesting to note that the combined "agree" response for the experimental group was 100%. Control group response ranged from 88.3% for Instructor (A), to 96.3% for Instructor (B) and 100% for Instructor (C).

43. "The procedure for grade assignments was fair." (4.9% + E)

44. "The examinations were fair appraisals of the course content." (No difference)

45. "Too much emphasis was placed upon the final examination." (5.6% + E)

46. "The examinations were too long for the time allotted." (3.5% + C)

47. "The examinations were too difficult." (2.2% + C)

48. "The examinations were unfair." (4.3% + C)

While many inferences may be drawn from the above statistics, it appears that the simulation/games may have influenced the experimental group to make a more positive response on a majority of the items. At any rate, students appeared to be very supportive of the involvement learning method of instruction. This seems to be especially true for Instructor (A).

Testing, however, has not produced conclusive evidence to prove that simulation/gaming is any more effective as an instructional method than other methods of teaching. Of course, the reverse of that can also be stated; that is, gaming has not been proven to be any less effective, when compared with other methods of teaching.

Games Used in the Testing Phase of the Program

Three games were used. They are:

1) "Red-Black"—This is an adapted form of "Win as Much as You Can." Each of the instructors used this game while teaching the Gospels. The two basic concepts that this game deals with are trust and covenant.

2) "The Gospel Game"—This game was designed by the three instructors to be used as a review of the Gospels.

3) "What Shall We Do With Jesus?"—This simulation dealt with the trial of Jesus and gave the students an understanding of the various Jewish religious groups and their possible roles in his trial and death.

Satisfaction in the Program Attainment

This study was undertaken because of a growing personal interest in simulation/gaming, plus a growing awareness of the lack of "hard evidence" as to the effectiveness of games as a teaching method.

Various disciplines have espoused the place and importance of play and games for an understanding of the individual and culture in general. Psychologists, educators, philosophers, and now in the 70's, theologians have speculated as to the importance and merits of play and games. David Miller's book, *Gods & Games*, has an excellent chapter devoted to identifying the contributions of the various disciplines to the study of play.

Prior to the mid-sixties, the efforts of the serious students of simulation/games were directed toward game design and development with little concern for evaluation by means of research or testing. Since the mid-sixties, conflicting findings have been reported. Some researchers have given "glowing" reports, producing statistical data which claim that games motivate students to achieve both cognitive and affective educational objectives better than with other teaching methods. Others have researched the same games and have found that factual material is not mastered more effectively; but, in fact, the students gain an understanding of a process. Still others reported that the significant differences were recorded in student attitudes with no marked difference in cognitive learning.

Perhaps the most exciting and rewarding aspect of this program was not what I discovered about gaming, but rather what I discovered and confirmed about myself, the teacher; namely, that the Christian teacher can not be someone standing on the outside feeding in answers. He must be on the inside,

actively reflecting with his students, actively searching, actively anxious to become Christian. The Christian teacher is the medium in teaching, not by the Christian things he says, but by the Christian that he is. He must teach from the valid Christian experience which is his.

And so I continue to wonder. Now that the program is completed, I am wondering what kind of expectations did we, as instructors, have for our students? I am wondering, in the near future will there be a wider variety of games designed for Christian education purposes? I am wondering, will I continue to understand that education and ministry are not projects to be completed, but processes to be lived?

You know, it's fun to wonder!

A Christian Education Program Designed for the Patients at the Cleveland Psychiatric Institute

Charles G. Ronkos

Backgrounds: Context and Focus

A MENTAL hospital is a unique setting in which to minister: the level of need is more apparent than in some situations and the challenge to the chaplain/minister is quite sharply defined. As a chaplain in such a setting the problem of religious belief in relation to the development of psychiatric illness has been a major concern of mine for a number of years with reference to my functions as a hospital chaplain at the Cleveland Psychiatric Institute. The question of whether there is a direct or indirect relationship between a person's religious belief and the development of psychiatric illness led me into an empirical study of patients admitted to C. P. I. showing religious delusions and symptoms. This work was completed in the process of the Mastor of Divinity degree with a major in Pastoral Psychology and Counseling through Ashland Theological Seminary.

The findings from that study led to further interest relative to ministry to psychiatric hospital residents. The present study was undertaken that I might gain further insight into the patient's world as he sees it. The research sought to draw on the patient's Biblical and theological concepts. A primary goal was to help me become a more effective minister to people in hospital context.

As a minister of the Gospel who is a chaplain in a mental hospital, one of my basic functions is to preach and teach the Word of God in the context of the hospital setting to patients who are mentally disturbed. In order to fulfill this function to the best of my abilities I have to be aware of where the patients are in their religious growth. I hoped to derive this awareness from the research data obtained through direct contact with patients as they were admitted to the hospital for treatment. With this basic theological information in hand I felt that I could then proceed to design a Christian education program

based upon theological concepts that were lacking in the religious growth of the patients. Any such program would have to be tailor-made to meet the personal religious needs of the patient in order to help him/her grow in their theological perspectives and horizons. Further, I thought that these insights would assist me in my preaching ministry as I prepare my weekly sermons for the patients in the weekly worship services. I could hereby zero in on basic religious needs of patients.

My program, as I conceived it and in keeping with the objectives of the CHERS D. Min. program, would not be limited to enhancing only my own self-understanding and ministry; it would also have potential for enabling others to serve more effectively in the mental hospital setting. Hopefully, the program would help me to expand my present ministry to include the laity in a meaningful teaching ministry in the hospital setting by involving them directly with patients. Further, it was hoped that better communications could be developed with the local clergy with regard to their members who are hospitalized, so that they might gain fuller insight into the progress of their hospitalized members from both theological and psychological points of view.

Even at the beginning of the program I had to accept the fact that there are patients for whom religious education cannot be helpful since their basic problem is psychological; in fact, it could be that religion is a part of the patient's mental illness. What some patients do with their religious beliefs is very much the same as what they do with other areas of belief. An example may be helpful: A paranoid patient may completely distort the social reality in which he lives and as a result of this same thought process his religious beliefs are similarly distorted. A minister cannot change the paranoid patient's thinking by telling him that his beliefs are wrong or that things are not as he sees them. In the same vein religious convictions cannot be changed by simply telling them that they are incorrect.

Program Design and Development

Accepting the possible limitations of such a program, the potential for personal growth and contribution to ministry in a program of Christian education in a mental hospital continued to offer promise. The program seemed naturally to be divided into two phases. Phase I dealt primarily with equipping the participant himself and with research preliminary to the formulation of the Christian education program. Phase II dealt with setting up the Christian education program itself.

Study and reflection to this point had led to the following hypothesis:

Patients in a psychiatric hospital setting view religion from two primary perspectives: (1) One way of viewing religion is from a moral-ethical perspective. Herein religion is as a set of guidelines or a set of rules by which a person lives his daily life. Such a person would interpret religion as based upon broad religious concepts that provide the foundation for an individual's life style. The guidelines or set of rules provide the overall framework of one's life goals and objectives. This person operates within this general framework and is not bound to adhere to a group of rigid and strict religious rules. (2) Another way of viewing religion would be from a ritualistic perspective. Herein religion would be based on a rigid interpretation of the idea of God. This person would tend to look at everything as either right or wrong. God is viewed as the controlling influence of one's life. Religion is used in a ritualistic way. If the subject rigidly complies with the various ritualistic requirements God will take complete care of him. Religion here is used as a defense mechanism in order to relieve anxieties resulting from guilt feelings brought about by committing various sins against God.

With this hypothesis set forth work in Phase I was undertaken. This began with a literature search to determine what materials had already been written on this particular subject so as to glean ideas and principles applicable to the work undertaken. Along with this, approaching the research task to be done, it was necessary for me to do work research technique relative to my project. This was largely in concern for construction of a questionnaire and the design of a rating scale by which a religious evaluation of patients entering the hospital could be conducted. In due time, after considerable research and many conferences with Core Faculty members, a Religious Information Questionnaire was developed. This included three sections: (1) Personal data necessary to identify variables in the answers of the person along with items supplying the religious history of the patient and his family. (2) Items that are aimed at determining the attitudes of the patient toward religion—God, man, sin, the church, etc. (3) Items testing the Biblical knowledge of the person.

The questionnaire was administered to two hundred patients. A control group of forty-six church members also participated in the testing. The second section of the test was particularly significant for the study and carried heavy significance for the hypothesis. After reviewing the results it was found

that fifteen items (of 50) showed responses which significantly differed for the control and the patient group. Since the second section contained fifty items, and since nearly one-third of those item responses differentiated the two groups, the major hypothesis of this investigation was verified. Specifically, this hypothesis states that psychiatric patients will view religion as a set of rigid, ritualistic rules which must be followed strictly and concretely; whereas, a normal, non-psychiatric group of people will view religion as a set of flexible moral-ethical guidelines which can be adhered to in a more realistic manner than rigidly—even if Biblically—defined rules. Each of the significant item responses which differed corroborated the hypothesis since the patient group responded in the manner predicted by the hypothesis; i.e., according to a rigidly defined religio-moral control system. Examination of the several significant items in the questionnaire provided even more telling evidence of the differing moral-ethical constraints of the two groups.

In general these significant item response results verify the hypothesis explicit and implicit in this study; namely, that many more mental patients than normal people see religious guidance and religion itself in the form of "Biblically" given concrete rules of right and wrong. It is the normal people who see religion as providing a religious foundation to life—broad religious ideas with which to guide one's life and abstractly defined guidelines for daily living. While religious training and religious preferences may in some measure account for response differences on the significant items, other important determining factors should be mentioned. People with mental disorders by definition are insecure and thereby need and seek security; are fearful, and therefore need and seek a life without fear; are indefinite and indecisive, and therefore seek the definite and decisive answers found in the concrete absolutes seen in their questionnaire responses. It is seen that inner need states based in mental disorder can affect the pattern of religious belief which carries an implication that if the mental disorder is removed the religious beliefs of the patient may become more flexible and realistic.

Another need can be the need for punishment consequent from feelings of guilt which can result in the patient's desire for a punitive and demanding set of religious rules. Socially based needs such as those derived from loneliness can also influence the responses of the mental patient so that "concretistic" religion is needed to provide personal and social supports to one's daily existence.

With the evidence of the first phase of the program in hand I was ready to move into the second phase; namely, the development of a Christian education program for the hospital patients based on the data obtained through the research completed. The overall educational objective in view arose from the findings of the study already described. As declared in the following statement: To assist the residents of the Cleveland Psychiatric Institute to become aware of God as revealed in Jesus Christ and/or to grow toward Christian maturity. It was recognized that the client group are composed of individuals with a great variety of religious experiences among them and that they would be at various levels of the commonly accepted objectives in Christian education (as outlined by Paul Vieth, for example). These commonly accepted objectives are considered to include: (1) God relationship; (2) The Saviorhood of Christ; (3) Christlike character; (4) Human relationships; (5) A Christian philosophy of life; (6) Supportive relationship with other Christians; (7) Christian life style.

Basic principles of the Christian education program were worked out in keeping with the educational objectives as noted. These focused primarily on persons as follows: (1) To provide an opportunity for patients at Cleveland Psychiatric Institute to become participants and learners in a class using various methods of teaching and learning which would be meaningful to the students over a two month period. (2) The class would be composed of selected patients who, under the direction of the teacher, would enter into discussion on an adult level. (3) The religious comprehension and personal application would be evaluated at the beginning and conclusion of the class sessions. (4.) The concept of the Theology of Hope would be introduced, at least in part. Out of these objectives and basic principles a series of eight lessons was developed for use with the patients. The lessons included the following: I. Introduction to Religious Study. II. God, the Father. III. God, the Son. IV. God, the Holy Spirit. V. Creation and Man. VI. The Sermon on the Mount. VII. Prayer. VIII. Christian Life Style.

The development of the Christian education design was done in conjunction with a support group of four public school teachers and volunteers from the community who had agreed to be involved in the program from the formative stages on through the teaching and evaluation stages. The teacher-volunteers participated in a training period to become acquainted with the study materials and the situation in which they would

be working. They then conducted weekly classes utilizing the Christian education materials prepared for this context. The teacher-volunteers assessed their students as to their views toward various theological beliefs at the beginning of their teaching program through the use of appropriate testing procedures. They then were involved with the patient-students in the teaching-learning situation for eight weeks. At the end of that period they retested the students, using the same testing procedure, to determine whether there was a significant change that took place in the students involved in the course.

The evaluation of the Christian education program by the various participants and observers was generally positive. Participation was active; however, a problem was encountered in that a number of patients were dismissed from the hospital during the process of the study so that results were difficult to ascertain. That participants who continued thorughout the course increased in religious knowledge was established. There was some evidence of movement toward more wholesome religious attitudes. The response of the teachers themselves to the effectiveness of the program may be determined in that they continued on in an ongoing phase of the Christian education program at C. P. I. They indicated that they felt they had grown personally through their participation in the program, and so they were willing to continue in this work. A further testimony to the effectiveness of the program is its continuation as an ongoing feature approved and funded by the superintendent of the hospital as of July 1, 1973.

A case study of one participant in the Christian education program may be helpful by way of evaluation. This reflects the results from "before and after" studies relative to the Christian education program. This person had a strong maternal religious background with presently weak religious activity with no church affiliation indicated. The patient is remarkable for lack of change in response to Part II—attitudes toward religion. Responses here were few; however, the few items on which there was evident change seem to point in the direction of realism. Items dealing with God's help in the crises of sickness and death reflected a more positive response. The patient has a personalistic view, though not an unrealistic one, which tends to corroborate the fact that a healthier religious change is taking place. As to the direct educative effects of the program, the questionnaire indicated that the patient did gain in terms of religious knowledge.

VALUES FOR MINISTRY AND PERSONAL GROWTH

Much of the excitement from student oriented and contextual education comes at the level of personal growth. Furthermore, as a professional program with concern for developing effectiveness in ministry, this experience has had direct values for ministry within the setting of my own ministry. Beyond this, there are possibilities for developing the same type of ministry in other mental hospital centers growing out of the study completed here. The possibilities evident in this program for involving laity in this kind of ministry have widespread potential as well.

I feel that the best way to describe the satisfaction in this total experience is to look at it from the standpoint of a birth process. I have been able to participate in the program at a number of significant levels as follows: (1) As a part of the Cleveland area group of the writer's peers: (2) As a participant representative on the Coordinating Committee responsible for the direction of the total doctor of ministry program: (3) As a participant throughout my own total process of education as designer, director, trainer, and evaluator along with Core Faculty of my own selection and resource persons in areas of particular need. All of this afforded me an enriching experience of another birth process. It has been exciting to be a part of this total delivery system. This type of activity brings forth new growth and a greater zest in life. New growth begins with becoming more keenly aware of what is happening around me and in trying to internalize this awareness. Various pieces fit together adding new dimensions to one's personality previously unknown.

Part of my growth as I have perceived it has been in becoming more open to new ideas as they have been offered through contacts with peer group members, core faculty members, Coordinating Committee members, support group members, and other co-workers in this program. The continuing evaluation process has afforded me a good opportunity to really take a good look at myself to see how I act and react in various learning situations; thus I get to know myself better as a person. Personal growth has also come by being able to take more risks in the various personal relationships in which I have participated throughout the entire program. It is easier for me to be able to put myself on the line and to be less defensive about it than when the program first began.

Growth has also come in the level of awareness as it relates to ministry to God's people in the mental hospital setting. That

growth has occurred is evident through being able to do research and come up with a viable Christian education program in the hospital setting that is geared to the hospital residents. This contextual learning has opened up new doors in my life and I feel that I have come a long way on this continum; however, as this is being written, I realize full well that there is still a long way to go to achieve a more integrated personality. Hopefully I can continue in this growth in the years to come, through God's help.

The program has fostered a broad spectrum of feelings and experiences. There have been feelings of excitement, of anticipation, of frustration, and failure, as I took part in meetings with peers, with Core Faculty, and with the Coordinating Committee. There were numerous times that the writer was on the hot seat, especially in relation to his peer group. I would be asked to defend certain positions that I took and my rationale for taking this particular position. At times I felt a bit threatened by my peers because they were critical of what I was doing in the program, especially in the area of research. This was good for me because I had to lay myself on the line and be able to risk an encounter with my peers; through this I grew as a person. I was apprehensive in the beginning because I had to take certain risks of being rejected, yet I realized, at the same time, that my peers were doing this for my own benefit. This challenging was really done in constructive ways in order to assist me to grow through this whole contextual process. At times, in the peer meetings, I felt the lack of support and thought that there was very much criticism; this made me feel a bit vulnerable.

Regarding the meetings with the Core Faculty members, I felt that I always grew as we exchanged ideas relating to my D. Min. Program. The writer felt that each Core Faculty person had respect for him, and they knew that he really wanted to learn what they as individuals had to share with him. I felt an openness with each Core Faculty member so that we could engage in dialogue as it related to the various components of the whole program. They would challenge me at various points during the program; this was to benefit me personally and professionally. At times I felt the Core Faculty members were particularly supportive as I was working through some of the particularly difficult elements of the project.

With reference to the meetings with the Coordinating Committee, I felt that even though I was a student representative on the Committee, I was accepted as a full member of the Committee and that I could voice my opinion on any issue that

came up for discussion. At times, the Coordinating Committee represented a support system. I felt grateful for the opportunity of sitting in on the Coordinating Committee meetings and thereby being able to see both sides of the issues being discussed. The writer felt that he had a better understanding of the whole program, including the process that was taking place in contextual education. Within this relationship, I felt a personal growing process taking place as I learned to appreciate each member of the Coordinating Committee and their personal contribution to the whole doctor of ministry program.

During the program I was becoming more aware of what was happening around me as well as being more aware of what was taking place within my own personhood. I became more aware of my own feelings and was able to identify these feelings while experiencing them, rather than getting in touch with them later on as had been my experience in the past. I was more spontaneous also with my responses to these feeling and thus I could begin to deal with the feelings more rapidly and also more edequately. I felt a development of trust and the ability to be more open with my own personal concerns. I felt more open as a person as I became engaged in the doctor of ministry program. I felt more receptive to new ideas that were introduced in various discussions. I felt more creative as I became involved in my own project and the projects of my peers, especially those who belonged to the Cleveland Group. The author felt a comradship with his peers—when he was not on the hot seat—as several members of the group were going through the contextual process and learning from one another and as each person worked through his own feelings.

There was a change in the attitudes of this participant as he realized the various feelings that were brought out clearly in the research data, as to the types of persons he was ministering to in the hospital. It was a very significant fact that a large percentage of the hospital patients in the research study— 65% of all the patients—were unmarried and thus could not maintain an intimate and lasting interpersonal relationship with another individual. It was suggested that for this reason they were seeking to meet their basic social needs through religious beliefs and religious practices and that they tried, therefore, to establish a meaningful relationship with a personalized God. The author felt that he must minister to the needs of the patients at Cleveland Psychiatric Institute who suffer from emotional problems as well as many other personal problems in the name of God, the Creator. This, indeed, is a theological activity. My response to God's love is to serve Him

in this context of ministry, by serving others in His Name, trying to convey this Divine Love to persons in need.

There was a feeling of relief for the participant as the various components of his program, such as the designing of the research instrument, the compiling of the results of the research, the designing of the Christian education program, and the implementation of the teaching program etc., were completed and fell into place as part of the total doctor of ministry program. I had real feelings of achievement in progress toward my goal. There was a feeling of joy as I sensed the change of mood and the change of attitudes of the patients as they became more involved in the Christian education program. They appeared to be more tolerant and understanding of one another in the Christian community as a part of the hospital setting. They showed more patience with each other and would assist others in the group who were not able to function as well as they with various tasks in the hospital setting. Feelings of anticipation and of excitement were experienced as I dealt with the implementation of the on-going Christian education program in the hospital. These feelings were carried over as I planned for the future of this program along with the support group composed of professional teachers. There was real anticipation among us as we met monthly to plan and carry out the Christian education curriculum. This curriculum consists of:

      a) Basic Course in Christian Education

      b) Intermediate Course in Christian Education

      c) Advanced Course in Christian Education

A FRONTIER IN MINISTRY

The program of ministry in which I have been involved is not limited to this hospital setting only—or to the hospital setting alone. It has ramifications for other hospitals and for the outreach of the hospitals into its surrounding community. This being the case, I experience the same feelings of hope and anticipation as I planned for the patient support system in the community into which discharged patients could be referred. Feelings of hope flood in as I think of the future in this ministry—as I can become involved more and more in people's lives, not only during the time of the patient's stay in the hospital, but as referrals are made out among the clergypersons in the community and the members of their churches. Hopefully this referral system will become more operative so that discharged patients will not experience the rejection and loneliness that

they have lived with prior to their coming into the Cleveland Psychiatric Institute. Hopefully, they can find the love and the acceptance that they have needed and sought previously. As pastors of these community churches show their love and concern to these ex-patients, these former patients will be led into taking part in some of the functions of the congregations. Corellative to this should be the establishment of a support system for the local clergypersons in the community who are willing to work in this phase of ministry. Through the ex-patient support system these persons can become involved in the work of God and His church and thus find new meaning to their desolate lives. Hopefully, people in the churches will not turn them off because they have been hospitalized for emotional problems, rather they will accept them and assist them to adjust to life and its many problems. The possibility of setting up of an adequate support system for the local clergypersons brings a measure of hope for the accomplishment of this task, since here will be additional trained persons in the community to minister to the emotionally disturbed person. Some pastors are reluctant to and in some cases not comfortable in dealing with the mentally ill person because they do not know how to handle them.

During times of crisis the comfort that the ex-patient could receive through God's Word is vital, particularly if he is in direct contact with the church and understanding members. They can assist him with his problems as he seeks the solutions to the overwhelming feelings that make it difficult at times for him to function up to par. In all times of need the ex-patient can learn to cope with his problems, providing that he is supported by his fellow Christians. Hopefully, this will be the case with more and more of the discharged patients at the Cleveland Psychiatric Institute. If this occurs the writer will enjoy a feeling of accomplishment as he senses that he has had a little part in helping to meet the needs of the emotionally disturbed persons.

The author looks forward to the development of a continuity of care as he relates to patients and ex-patients through their pastors in the community as they are discharged from the hospital. There will be a feeling of on-goingness to the ministry to individuals. Up until now I have felt a somewhat fragmented ministry to people in the hospital because often they would come in to the hospital due to a crisis situation. After this crisis situation is over they leave the hospital and the chaplain would not see them again until the next crisis situation took place. Hopefully, in the future there will be a more complete ministry to whole families and not just to one specific member of the

family. I am eager to share in a more extended ministry which will encompass the entire family unit. Within the family unit one can observe what is taking place on an inter-personal level with the various members of the family. By this process the chaplain will be able to diagnose what is happening in the family unit and assist in eliminating the destructive tensions existing among the family members. This would provide a feeling of accomplishment. In addition, here I could be ministering directly and/or indirectly to the "whole person" and attempting to help meet the needs of the total person.

In conclusion, the writer looks forward to the satisfactions of this extended type of ministry as he continues this integrative process of ministry in their community at large. This will provide a more holistic ministry including not only the ex-patient but also his extended family. Included in this community ministry are the pastors of the churches where the ex-patient will make their church home. This, then, is the frontier in ministry for this D. Min. program participant.

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Introduction to the Current Issue

THE 1977 issue of the **Ashland Theological Bulletin** is comprised of a single article representing the results of thorough and comprehensive research and reflection by a member of the Ashland Theological Seminary faculty. "Trine Communion" as a ritual concept and practice is of particular interest to the entire spectrum of Brethren bodies specifically and Anabaptist-oriented groups generally. Interestingly, the statement presented here has developed from the research and thought of a Reformed scholar who has been brought into proximity to Brethren practice by his teaching appointment at the seminary. Brethren groups especially will be interested in Dr. Kickasola's findings, stimulated in their studies of the subject, and challenged in their observance of communion rites.

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It was originally planned that this article be published in May, 1977; however, the fields of possibility for the writer relative to the subject continued to expand and the issues involved called for sharper definition so that publication has been postponed until June, 1978.

Leviticus and Trine Communion

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I. Introduction

The purpose of this study, Leviticus and Trine[1] Communion, is to restudy the New Testament ceremonies of the Eucharist (the bread and cup of blessing), the Pedilavium (the ceremonial washing of feet), and the Agape (the love-feast, the Lord's Supper) from an Old Testament perspective. This study is needful for two reasons. The first reason is that it has been more than a decade since these have been studied together.[2] The second reason is that these three have never been studied together in the light of Old Testament ceremonial (sacrificial) categories.[3] It is the view of this writer that the implications of Levitical procedure for Christian liturgy are significant, and have been largely overlooked, and are herein the distinctively new element. Perhaps a third need can be mentioned. As a professor of Old Testament at Ashland Theological Seminary I share its conservative-evangelical Christian presuppositions, but they are in the Anabaptist, Believers' Church, tradition, and I in the Reformed. They have welcomed my private and public opinions on these things which are very precious to them, and see the need for fertile exchange of different perspectives. I reciprocate in the spirit of warm negotiability by offering this study to them, not as a critique of their ideas on this subject, but, as fulfilling the third need, namely my own independent attempt to theologize an experience they have given to me.

The quest began by an attempt to understand the meaning of the Pedilavium. The day after these feet-washing ceremonies

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[1] The words trine and triune can be distinguished, although in fact they are often used interchangeably. Trine means "threefold" (Latin *tri-* "three," plus *-nus* "fold"), and, therefore, appropriately expresses the three phases of the Lord's supper (Agape-Pedilavium-Eucharist). The word triune means "three in one" (Latin *tri-* "three," plus *-unus* "one"), and suitably expresses the Trinity of the Godhead (Latin *trinitas* means "triad," or "trio," encompassing each Person in One Essence). Incidently, those who practice triple baptism (thrice forward) call it either "triune baptism" (thus stressing the unity of one descent into the waters of Christ's ordeal), or "trine baptism" (stressing that the submerging dips forward from the kneeling position are thrice in succession, being in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit).

[2] Joseph R. Shultz, *The Soul of the Symbols: A Theological Study of Holy Communion* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1966). For those who have not read in the area of the Brethren tradition see Charles F. Yoder, *God's Means of Grace* (Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Publishing House, 1908), pp. 283-416.

[3] The present study is an expansion of the second of two previously published cassette tapes. Joseph N. Kickasola, "The Relationship of Law and Grace," and "The Significance of Sacrificial Ritual Acts," Westminster Media Tapes JK 101 and JK 102, The Harry A. Worcester Lectureship of Westminster Theological Seminary, March 8-9, 1976, "Two Theological Studies in Biblical Law: A Foundation and Application" (Westminster Media, P.O. Box 27009, Philadelphia, PA 19118).

I would feel warmly human and good about what I, in Christ, had done, and what had been done by Christian brothers to me, but could not understand **why** I felt that way. The idea that I was acting in imitation of and in obedience to Christ, while an impressive point, was not to me sufficient. The points of sin-washing and service were more impressive still, though inconclusive for our day. During one of these feet-washing ceremonies Delbert Flora, professor emeritus of Biblical Archaeology, shared privately with me the notion that a participant in such a service is a "priest." Since then the idea of "priest" to me has connoted "service" in two senses: serving and ceremony. It is precisely the latter that to me is the most cogent rationale for the Pedilavium (or Agape) in the postapostolic age, namely, liturgical need. Modern man needs very much to **ceremonialize** his active and passive consecration to God, and the need is clearly true for Biblical man; washing and being washed expresses it in a powerful and Biblical way. We all hold to the normativity of the Eucharist. It is the position of this study that while the Pedilavium and Agape cannot be proven to be normative Christian worship, they are normal, and are intensely **appropriate** expressions of the ceremonial categories in both the Old and New Testaments. The large liturgical load which many believers place upon the Eucharist alone needs to be carefully yet tolerantly reexamined. We should all seek to theologize what we are doing. To those who observe Trine Communion, and to those who for innovative worship want to experiment in this area, we humbly offer this as one Biblical option.

There needs to be a word of caution here about experimentation as a hermeneutic. I am not experimenting with sacraments. There are only two: non-recurrent Baptism and recurrent Eucharist. The question is, did Jesus intend for the Pedilavium or the Agape to be an ongoing part of the second sacrament, whose constituent element is the Eucharist? As to liturgical experimentation, it is my view that while experience must not be an exegetical or hermeneutical device to open up the Scriptures, it can occassionally have the effect of opening up the **person** to some possibly genuine Scriptural options. But the Scriptures must still be independently exegeted. The personally creative possibilities of experience are especially true in Holy Communion where there is, as Joseph Shultz in another context has said, a shift in emphasis (but only emphasis) from propositionalizing truth to experiencing truth, from the messenger (prophet) to the message, from communication to communion, and from His revelation to the Revelation Himself.[4] It is always healthy to keep these two aspects together. Body and spirit are inseparable in this life; we sin as persons, as psychosomatic

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[4] Shultz, ibid., p. 27.

units. Though offensive to the superspiritual, it is a tribute to the altar-theology of Leviticus that there is no cleavage between ceremonial sin and moral sin. This precious pre-Christian (but not sub-Christian) book moves from one to the other without disjunction or distinction.

For those outside Trine-Communion churches, perhaps an introductory word ought to be given on the historical scope of modern practice. My colleague, Jerry Flora, professor of Christian Theology, in an informal class outline, succinctly provides us with the scope of Agape observance, several of these groups still retaining the Pedilavium as well.

> The Christian Church (Disciples) formerly observed the Agape, as did also the United Brethren and many Baptists. The Methodist Church originally had what it called a love-feast, bread and water taken in the morning preceding the observance of the Eucharist in the evening. The Agape is celebrated also by the Brethren groups, the Brethren in Christ, the Church of God, the Mennonites, and the Amish.

Finally, an introductory word on the scope of this study itself. Although there follows a brief word on the appointed sacrificial feasts (Leviticus 23), and the different types of offerings, the focus is on the sacrificial ritual actions themselves, and on their liturgical-procedural categories. In a word, this is a study on the **sequence and significance** of Old Testament sacrificial rituals and the New Testament ramifications of these, especially for Christian ceremonies. To this task we now turn.

II. General Considerations

A. Feasts

The major passages on the annual feasts of ancient Israel are Ex. 12, 23, 34; Lev. 23; Num. 28-29; and Deut. 16. Each of these six passages, in a noncomprehensive way, contributes to the total picture of Israel's liturgical calendar. For example, Num. 28-29 concentrates on the **offerings** themselves (cf. 28:2, 29:39). This passage can be outlined as follows:

I. Offerings of Appointed Times (28:1—29:40)
   A. Introduction (28:1-2)
   B. Body (28:3—29:38)
      1. Daily (Continual) Offerings (28:3-8)
      2. Weekly (Sabbath) Offerings (28:9-10)
      3. Monthly (New Moon) Offerings (28:11-15)
      4. Annual (Feast) Offerings (28:16—29:38)
   C. Conclusion (29:39-40)

There is a slightly different arrangement of material in

Lev. 23, which emphasizes the **appointed times** (feasts) them-
selves. It can be outlined as follows:

I. Appointed Times (23:1-44)
   A. Introduction (1-2)
   B. Sabbath (3)
   C. Feasts (4-43)
      1. Introduction (4)
      2. Feasts (5-43)
         (1) Passover (5)
         (2) Unleavened Bread (6-8)
         (3) First Fruits (9-14)
         (4) Pentecost (15-22)
         (5) Trumpets (23-25)
         (6) Atonement (26-32)
         (7) Tabernacles (33-43)
   D. Conclusion (44)

The significance of the feasts can best be gained by using the
focus of Lev. 23 as a basis, and by comparing the parallel pas-
sages and New Testament with it. The following brief outline
on the significance of Israel's liturgical calendar seeks to do
just that.[5]

I. The Seven Feasts of Leviticus 23

  A. Three Feasts of the First Month (Spring)

    1. Feast of Passover (23:5)

BLOOD. This feast is called Passover (**pesah**) in the Bible,
and in post-Biblical literature it is also called "the feast of the
liberation" (**hag haheruth**), or "the time of our liberation"
(**zeman heruthenu**). It begins in the middle (full moon) of the
first month of the religious calendar, on the 14th of Nisan
(March-April), also called the month of Abib, just at twilight.
It signifies liberation from Egyptian bondage through the
BLOOD of the Passover lamb, and deliverance from our sins
through the blood of Jesus the Christ, the Lamb of God, which
He shed on Good Friday of Holy Week.

    2. Feast of Unleavened Bread (23:6-8)

BODY. This feast, called Unleavened Bread (**matsoth**), is held
for seven days on the 15th-21st of the same spring month
(Nisan/Abib), and the bread signifies the undefiled body of our

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[5] For a general and somewhat popular (though dispensational)
treatment of the main features and applications of the Jewish feasts, see the
cassette tape of the Hebrew-Christian Zola Levitt, "The Passover & Other
Jewish Feasts," 1975. Liberation Tapes, P.O. Box 6044, Lubbock, Texas.
For a table showing the Hebrew calendar with its month names, agricultural
seasons, and festivals, see J. D. Douglas, ed., *The New Bible Dictionary*
(Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1962), p. 177.

Lord which is broken for us, and the undefiled (unleavened) walk of fellowship we, the body of Christ, have in Him who is the Bread of Heaven. All day Saturday of Holy Week (and part of Friday and Sunday) the body of Jesus lay in the tomb.

3. Feast of First Fruits (23:9-14)

RESURRECTION. Just as Passover and the week of Unleavened Bread were often thought of as one Feast of Unleavened Bread, so this Feast of First Fruits and Pentecost (which follows) were thought of as one Feast of Harvest (**qatsir**). This feast is called the Feast of First Fruits (**reshith**), in which the Israelite is commanded to bring in "the sheaf of the first fruits of your harvest" (**omer reshith qetsirkhem**, 23:10). The **barley** sheaf was waved before the Lord at this beginning of the harvest season, which was followed fifty days later by the Feast of Harvest (**hag haqqatsir**) wherein was offered the "first fruits of the **wheat** harvest" (**bikkure qestir hittim**, Ex. 34:22). The Feast of First Fruits occurs on the 16th of Nisan/Abib, the second day of Unleavened Bread, which is known in Scripture as being "on the morrow (day) after the sabbath" (**mimmohorath hashabbath**, Lev. 23:11, 15), the "sabbath" being the 15th of Nisan, the first day of Unleavened Bread (not necessarily the ordinary weekly sabbath), so called because it is a feast-day of rest and holy convocation (23:7).[6] The significance of the First Fruits of the harvest is that the first of the standing grain to which they put the sickle (Deut. 16:9) belongs to the Lord as the first order and token of the God-given harvest, and so too Christ, who arose on the first day after the sabbath, became "the first fruits (aparche) of those who are asleep" (1 Cor. 15:20), awaiting His second coming (vs. 23). So we see the marvelous fulfillment wrought by Jesus Christ, in whom all the promises are yea and amen (II Cor. 1:20), who in Passion Week fulfilled the three feasts of the first month by giving His BLOOD to the altar of Golgotha on Good Friday (Passover, the 14th of Nisan), by giving His BODY to the tomb in the sleep of death on Holy Saturday (Feast of Unleavened Bread, the 15th), and on Easter Sunday by rising from the dead in RESURRECTION power of the first order (Feast of First Fruits, the day after the sabbath, the 16th of Nisan).

B. An Intermediate Feast (Summer)

4. Feast of Pentecost (23:15-22)

HARVEST. The names for this one-day feast are the Feast

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[6] For a discussion of the time and activities of the 16th of Nisan (and for a commentary generally helpful on all of Leviticus), see C. D. Ginsburg, "The Third Book of Moses, Called Leviticus," in *A Bible Commentary for English Readers by Various Writers,* ed. Charles John Ellicott (London: Cassel and Company, Limited, n.d.), 1:443 (Lev. 23:11).

of Harvest (**hag haqqatsir**) proper, the Feast of (seven) Weeks (**hag hashavuoth**), and Pentecost, "the Fiftieth (Day)" (Greek **pentekoste**), i.e. fifty (Greek **pentekonta**) days from the prior Feast of First Fruits until the final "day of the first fruits" (**yom habbikkurim**, Num. 28:26). This represents seven weeks of grain harvesting, counting "from the time you began to put the sickle to the standing grain" (Deut. 16:9), i.e. fifty days from the barley harvest begun "on the morrow (day) after the sabbath" (Lev. 23:11, 15), the 16th of Nisan, unto "the first fruits of the wheat harvest" (Ex. 34:22), the "new grain-offering" (**minha hadasha**, Lev. 23:16) in the third month (the 6th of Sivan, May-June). The significance of this feast is, again, that the harvest belongs to the Lord, who will abundantly supply in the most praiseworthy manner, and the great HARVEST of souls won to the Lord by the Holy Spirit, who was poured out on this very day fifty days after the resurrection, included in which were the forty days of resurrection appearances to His disciples. The great harvest of souls includes, in just the earliest stages alone, the 3000 (Acts 2:41), the 5000 (4:4), and further, "the word of God kept on spreading; and the number of the disciples continued to **increase greatly** in Jerusalem, and a great many of the priests were becoming obedient to the faith" (6:7). Interestingly, Jews further call the agricultural festival of Pentecost by a religious name, "the time of the giving of the law" (**zeman mattan Tora**), which by rabbinical calculation they hold to be the season of God's giving the law to Moses on Mount Sinai. It is too, we see, the day that the Lawgiver came to Zion spreading the precepts of the Gospel in the purity of pentecostal fire. From Pentecost to the next feast the New Testament phase of the Age of the Gentiles is spanned, reaping the harvest of the Lord.

C. Three Feasts of the Seventh Month (Fall)

5. Feast of Trumpets (23:23-25)

RAPTURE.   The name of this feast is Trumpets, literally "a resounding" (**terua**, Lev. 23:24) of voices and trumpets, or "a day for resounding" (**yom terua**, Num. 29:1) of voices and trumpets. The trumpets used probably were the silver clarions (**hatsotseroth**, much like the Roman or English post-horns) mentioned in Num. 10.

> Also in the day of your gladness and in your *appointed feasts,* and on the *first days of your months,* you shall blow the trumpets (*hatsotseroth*) over your burnt offerings, and over the sacrifices of your peace offerings; and they shall be as a reminder of you before your God. I am the Lord your God (Num. 10:10).

The time of this feast is the 1st of Tishri, also called Ethanim (I Kgs. 8:2), the seventh month (September-October). This is

the day of the 7th new moon, the last month of the harvesting (agricultural) season. Post-exilic Jews reckon, after Babylonian fashion, Tishri to be the 1st month of the civil year, and therefore call the feast of Trumpets **Rosh Hashana**, "the head of the (civil) year," the modern Jewish New Year's Day. This, in fact, is the early agricultural orientation of the Bible (and West Semitic nations) whereby the autumn is the "going out of the year" (Ex. 23:16), or the "turn of the year" (Ex. 34:22). But when things can begin to be harvested again in the spring it is called the "return of the year," the dry season (April-September), also a time when kings can go forth to war (Ex. 23:16, II Sam. 11:1, I Kgs. 20:26, II Chr. 36:10). The designations of the rainy season (October-March) themselves show this same ancient fall orientation: the "early rain" **(yoreh)** is in the fall (October-November), and the "latter rain" **(malqosh; l-q-sh** "to be late") is in the spring (March-April). Further, the sabbatical year begins in the fall (on the Day of Atonement, Lev. 25:8-10). The orientation of the religious calendar to spring (Nisan) is due, of course, to the exodus deliverance (Ex. 12:2, Deut. 16:1, 6). The significance of the feast of Trumpets is that God in the final moon calls His people to Himself by trumpets to prepare them for the last events and their impending judgment (Day of Atonement) when moons shall wax and wane no more. So too, by resounding shout and trumpet, Jesus shall gather His elect together to Himself just prior to the heavenly judgment day (Mt. 24:30, 31; I Thess. 4:14-17). This trumpet will be the "last trumpet" (I Cor. 15:52), which apparently is the "seventh trumpet" (Rev. 11:15) terminating all earthly judgments of tribulation and ushering man before the bar of heaven. The feast of Trumpets points to the (postpentecostal) redemptive event known as the RAPTURE of Christ's covenant peoples.

> For the Lord Himself will descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the **trumpet** **(salpinx,** which in the LXX uniformly translates the trumpet-words **hatsotsera, shophar, yovel)** of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we who are alive and remain **shall be caught up (harpagesometha;** Latin **rapiemur** "raptured") together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and thus we shall always be with the Lord (I Thess. 4:16, 17.).

6. Feast of Atonement (23:26-32)

REDEMPTION. The feast of Atonement is called "the Day of Atonement" **(yom hakkippurim),** the famous Yom Kippur. It is held on the 10th day of the 7th month (Tishri), starting on the evening of the 9th (Lev. 16:29, 23:27, 32). The activities of this day are unique, being the most solemn holy day of ancient

Israel. Only on this day of the whole year was blood brought into the Holy of Holies, and the scapegoat ceremony conducted (Lev. 16). It was a day of confession of sin and fasting ("and you shall afflict your souls," Lev. 23:27, 29, 32, cf. Acts 27:9). In Judaism today it is ushered in by the sound of the shophar, the ram's horn (cf. Lev. 25:9), and every Jew prays to be inscribed in the book of life for the coming year. The significance of this feast, according to Lev. 16 and Heb. 9-10, is the transferal, cleansing and removal of the guilt and penalty of sin. We have passed from condemnation unto life, for we were punished in Christ, our sacrificial Substitute, who shed His own blood, suffered outside the gate, and entered the heavenly Holy of Holies, the very throne-room of the Lord of heaven. Just as the Day of Atonement follows Trumpets, so the judgment will follow the rapture. In that judgment day when we all enter the Holy of Holies to appear before the bar of heaven, we "shall be saved, yet so as through fire" (I Cor. 3:15). For then the Lord "will both bring to light the things hidden in the darkness and disclose the motives of men's hearts; and then each man's praise will come to him from God" (4:5). "For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that each one may be recompensed for his deeds in the body, according to what he has done, whether good or bad" (II Cor. 5:10). Nothing will be omitted from the record on that day, as we have the very testimony of our Lord:

> But there is nothing covered up that will not be revealed, and hidden that will not be known. Accordingly whatever you have said in the dark shall be heard in the light, and what you have whispered in the inner rooms shall be proclaimed upon the housetops (Lk. 12:2, 3).

On that day of Remembrance, God's day in court, the books will be read before God as the final memorial. Each one of us shall give an account of himself to God (Mt. 12:36, Rom. 14:10, 12, Heb. 4:13, 13:17, I Pet. 4:5). But we are redeemed! We will endure the day of judgment. We will not be on our own. We have His promise that our sins are forgiven and will not be remembered against us in that day of remembrance of all things before God (cf. Ps. 79:8). The books to be read, according to the testimony of Rev. 20:12-15, are not just the Books of the Deeds of men, but also the Book of Life. Christ, who intercedes for us, will not deny His own in that day, but will confess our names before the Father (Mt. 10:32) from this book of redemption, and we with Him for that final moment of most holy justice will plead the blood for every deed in the record. Once believers and unbelievers are eternally separated, and all tears have been wiped away (Rev. 21:4), God will remember us only for good in Christ and reward us eternally, crowning Himself in us.

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7. Feast of Tabernacles (23:33-43)

REST. The names of the last feast are the Feast of Tabernacles or Booths (**hag hassukkoth**) and the Feast of Ingathering (**hag haasiph**) of the final crops. The feast is named after the tabernacle or booth (**sukka**) in which worshippers rested for seven days, from the 15th to the 21st of the 7th month (Tishri). Tree boughs and palm branches were cut to provide foliage-shelter as a memorial of the exodus journey from Egypt when they lived in booths (Lev. 23:43). This memorial of the exodus gave the feast of tabernacles a redemptive base different from the harvest festivals of neighboring nations with their fertility myths. On the eighth day, the 22nd of Tishri, "in the last day, the great day of the feast" (Jn. 7:37), there was a Concluding Assembly (**atsereth**, Lev. 23:36, Num. 29:35, Neh. 8:18, II Chr. 7:9, 10; the word for "concluding assembly" is also used for the 7th and last day of the week of Unleavened Bread in Deut. 16:8). Before Christian times the Feast of Drawing Water (**simhath beth hashoeva**) was associated with this Concluding Assembly of the 8th and final day, perhaps originally in token of the rainy season about to appear in the climate of the region (cf. the "no rain" of Zechariah's eschatological feasts of Tabernacles in Zech. 14:16-19). Jesus perhaps alluded to this practice at the Feast of Tabernacles:

> Now on the **last day**, the **great day of the feast**, Jesus stood and cried out, saying, "If any man is **thirsty**, let him come to Me and **drink**. He who believes in Me, as the Scripture said, 'From his innermost being shall flow **rivers of living water**'" (Jn. 7:37-38).

Both the 1st day (15th of Tishri) and this 8th day of Tabernacles (22nd) were called "a holy convocation" (**miqra qodesh**) in which no laborious work was done (Lev. 23:35, 36), and each was called "a Sabbath rest" (**shabbathon**, vs. 39). The significance of Tabernacles is sabbatical REST. Just as Tabernacles follows Yom Kippur, so our eternal rest will follow our redemption from judgment. Just as the Day of Atonement dealt with the **guilt and penalty** of sin, so our eternal rest in the tabernacles the Lord is preparing for us in heaven will be free from the **presence and effect** of sin. We will be saved to the uttermost (Heb. 7:25). We will have made our exodus from Satan's tyranny over this world to dwell each one in the garden mansions of the Promised Land. This is the ultimate sabbath, resting in the rest of the Lord. God since Day Seven of creation has been in His creation rest (note that there is no refrain in Gen. 2:3, "And there was evening and there was morning, the seventh day"). He invites man on a weekly basis to taste of this rest of God. Our basic text for this survey of the feasts begins with the weekly sabbath (Lev. 23:1-3), and ends with the most sabbatical

of all feasts: the seven-day tabernacle-rest of the seventh month consummating the seven feasts. Even the offerings of Tabernacles are divinely engineered to descend from the first to the seventh day by means of daily one less bullock from thirteen down to seven victims on the seventh day (Num. 29:13, 32). This remarkable sabbatical numeration is preceded and heralded not only by the weekly sabbath, but by Unleavened Bread lasting for seven days, by Pentecost being seven weeks after First Fruits, and by a seven-month inclusive period from Nisan to Tishri which God has ordained for all the feasts, which period witnesses seven holy convocations (two for each of Unleavened Bread and Tabernacles; one for each of Pentecost, Trumpets and Atonement). Outside the feast-system of one sabbath day during the week, and one sabbath week during the yearly feast of Tabernacles, there is, in addition, one sabbath year during the sabbatical seven-year cycle. Yet Scripture goes from glory to surpassing glory, from the holy place to the most holy place, from perfection to greater perfection, from seven to eight. The principle of seven-yea-eight, the day after the sabbath, is encountered many times: completed creation began its cycles on the day after the sabbath of God; Passover plus Unleavened Bread lasted for eight days; the terminus a quo for Pentecost is on the day after the sabbath; Pentecost is the 50th day (7 x 7 + 1); Tabernacles is eight days; its first and its eighth day are called a sabbath rest; jubilee is the 50th year (7 x 7 + 1); Jesus arose from the dead on the day after the sabbath; the Christian church worships on the day after the sabbath, resurrection day, the Lord's day, observing in Him a sabbath rest over sin and death; and finally, "There remains therefore a sabbath rest (sabbatismos) for the people of God" (Heb. 4:9), for God is still in His sabbath rest of Seven-Yea-Eight, and invites all of His creation who trust in the finished work of Christ to celebrate an unending continuum of Creation-Yea-Neocreation Days with Him in glory.

With the brief word on each of the feasts complete, we may now generalize on the whole. Three times a year was pilgrimage-festival time in Israel, the feasts of the 1st, 3rd, and 7th month, summarily known as Unleavened Bread, Harvest/Weeks, and Ingathering/Tabernacles (Ex. 23:14-17, 34:18-23, Deut. 16:16). No male at these times was to appear before God empty-handed. This highlights the great importance of sacrifice in ancient Israel, which is the tribute due to the great King of Heaven from whom all blessings flow. These were truly sacrificial appointed times. Yet we see that they, by wisdom, did not interfere with the industry of the people: Passover being just before and Tabernacles just after harvesting, while Pentecost (Weeks) came between grain and vintage. There were no pilgrimages in the winter when wet and cold might make travel difficult, and

when plowing and seeding had to be done (and in modern times the huge citrus harvesting). While the feasts followed the agricultural seasons, the meaning of their sequence, as we have seen, is far more sublime. They are typological in both **sequence and significance**, being to the eye of faith a veritable calendar of the redemptive seasons in the history of God with man, some yet to transpire in full historical form. On the negative side they eloquently are designed to show their own insufficiency, as for example in the case of the daily (continual) offering which is diminished by that of the day of Atonement since only it could enter the Holy of Holies. In turn, even it is diminished by the one offering of Christ who was offered once, not year after year, to enter not the ultimate human sanctuary, but Heaven itself. Finally, in every case, one is struck with Biblical man's need to **ceremonialize** his relationship with the Lord, and God's unspeakably rich and wise ceremonial provision.

B. Offerings

The focus of this study, as indicated in the Introduction, is on the sequence and significance of Old Testament sacrificial **rituals**, not on the various kinds of offerings. The sequence and significance of the feasts have just been generally considered. A still briefer word on the various kinds of offerings can be generally considered now, but here giving just enough background data from Leviticus to facilitate moving on to the stated focus of this study.

The amount of detail in Leviticus (esp. chaps. 1-7) and the rest of the Penteteuch on the various kinds of offerings with their respective regulations regarding materials and quantities, occasions and purposes, is large and complex, and may be treated in a number of ways.[7] Some of the data can be outlined as follows:

    I. Kinds of Offerings (*qorban*)
       A. Blood (Animal) Offerings (*zevah*)
          1. Burnt Offering (*ola*)
               Only this one could not be eaten by anyone, but was to be wholly (*kalil*) burnt on the altar, and therefore also called the whole burnt offering.
          2. Sin Offering (*hattath*)
               Deals with ceremonial (and moral) sin.
          3. Guilt Offering (*asham*)
               Also called the trespass offering, stressing sin against a neighbor and value compensation.

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[7] For a truly excellent and brief article on these things, with some helpful discussion of ritual and meaning, plus a good bibliography for further reading, see R. J. Thompson, "Sacrifice and Offering," in *The New Bible Dictionary*, ed. J. D. Douglas (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1962), pp. 1113-22.

4. Peace Offerings (*shelamim*)
    The sacrifices of peace offerings (*zivhe she-lamin*) stress covenant meal, communion and reconciliation (being from either *shalom* peace, or *shillem* to repay.)
    a. Thank Offering (*toda*)
        Also called the sacrifice of praise (Heb. 13:15), repaying acts of providence.
    b. Votive Offering (*neder*)
        Fulfilling a vow.
    c. Voluntary Offering (*nedava*)
        Also called the freewill offering, apparently fulfilling a good intention.

B. Non-blood (Vegetable) Offerings (*minha*)
    5. Grain Offering (*minha*)
        Also called the cereal offering, and formerly by the now misleading "meat offering." It is most often used in conjunction with a preceding blood offering. The drink offerings (*nesakhim*) were libations used in conjunction with other offerings as well, including the grain offering.

Finally, in the Bible a sacrifice is regarded as an "offering" (qorban) which is "brought near" (qarab) to the altar where the Lord dwells (cf. Ex. 20:24), consuming the sacrifices, which are collectively known as the "gifts of holiness" (**mattenoth qodesh**). All of these terms reflect the consecration element in them. There is no Hebrew word reserved just for "sacrifice" (Latin **sacrificium**) inclusive of both blood (animal) and non-blood (vegetable) offerings. The term **qorban** (cf. Mk. 7:11), while clearly inclusive, does not mean just altar gift (sacrifice), but since it does mean holy or cultic gift (including minerals such as gold, silver, wood) it is most often used for the five main offerings above.

C. Leviticus 17:11

The third and last general consideration beyond feasts and offerings must be dealt with, namely the **meaning** of sacrifice. What was the contemporary significance of this Israelite practice? This question is logically prior to the procedure or ritual actions themselves (which follow), and is necessary for understanding the sacrificial emphasis on **blood**. The blood is truly the key for gaining a genuinely Biblical orientation to the whole system of Biblical atonement. One is pressed to find a more helpful and beautiful passage for this than Leviticus 17:11. This verse is germane to knowing the Lord's own rationale for sacrifice as He revealed it to Moses, and is therefore worthy of careful exegesis. It has three clauses which can literally be rendered as follows:

a. For the *life* of the flesh is in the BLOOD.
b. And I Myself have given IT to you upon the altar to make atonement for your *lives,*
c. For it is the BLOOD by reason of the *life* that makes atonement (Lev. 17:11).

The immediate context (vss. 10-14) is the prohibition against the eating of blood. The predicate (comment) throughout verse eleven is the blood (here highlighted as BLOOD-IT-BLOOD), for specifically it is not to be eaten. But the reason for not eating blood is that it contains **life** (here highlighted as **life-lives-life**), the subject (topic) of the a-clause, with which "for your **lives**" of the b-clause is contrasted. Clearly this is vicarious **life for lives,** the **life** of animal flesh in the altar-shed blood which is vicariously, innocently, and symbolically atoning **for your lives** laden with impurity. The emphasis on blood in the sacrificial system is due to the fact that altar-shed blood is the very **means** of atonement for lives, but the **ground** (reason) is life itself which passes through the crisis of vicarious death.[8]

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[8] This translation and understanding of Lev. 17:11 is clearly supported by the grammar of its clauses. The a-clause reads *ki-nephesh habbasar baddam hi.* It is a nonverbal clause whose subject (topic) is *nephesh* (life) and whose predicate (comment) is *baddam* (in the blood) followed by the feminine subject enclitically resumed in *hi.* The word *dam* (blood) is masculine and serves as the antecedent to the objective pronoun in the following clause. The b-clause reads *vaani netattiv lakhem al-hammizbeah lekhapper al-naphshothekhem.* It is a verbal clause with frontal emphatic personal pronoun *ani* (I Myself), and with masculine suffix pronoun *-v* (it) resuming the a-clause masculine antecedent *dam* (blood). The object of the infinitival phrase *lekhapper al-* (to make atonement for) is *naphshothekhem* (your lives), and is in contrast with a-clause *nephesh* (life), which contrast is unfortunately blurred for the reader by most translations: AV 1611, RV 1885, ASV 1901, RSV 1952, NAS 1963 unfortunately have "life . . . for your souls," but it is not obscured by the ancient versions, nor by some modern ones (French 1910 *ame . . . pour vos ames,* Dutch 1951 *ziel . . . over uw zielen,* JB 1966 life . . . for your lives). The c-clause reads *ki-haddam hu bannephesh yekhapper.* It is a cleft nonverbal clause with frontal predicate *haddam* (the blood) so marked by subjective enclitic *hu* which in turn relativizes (nominalizes) *yekhapper* to serve as the subjective noun phrase (that which makes atonement). The word *bannephesh* (by reason of the life) is a predicative adjunct of *haddam,* and is here correctly translated as such. What the c-clause is saying is this: "That which makes atonement is the blood by reason of the life which is in it)." Better still in the emphatic word order of the Hebrew, the c-clause is saying: "For it is the blood by reason of the life (which is in it)that makes atonement." This has been perfectly translated by the modern German translation of Hans Bruns (1962): *"denn das Blut ist es, das Suhne durch das (in ihm enthaltene) Leben bewirkt"* (the parentheses are mine). Most modern versions have caught the essence of *bannephesh* with the phrase "by reason of the life," such as RV, ASV, RSV, NAS, Dutch 1951 *(door middel van de ziel);* the French (1910) also, but with the cleft slightly misplaced: *"car c'est par l'ame que le sang fait l'expiation"* (better would be **car c'est le sang par l'ame que fait l'expiation*). The AV, following the ancient versions, has missed the nuance by connecting *bannephesh* with *yekhapper* to give the rendering "for it is

This vicarious understanding of the blood and its life accords very well with the gracious context of this legislation. God had saved His people from the tyranny of the demons of Egypt and had brought the children of Israel out with a strong hand in accordance with His covenant promises to the fathers. At Sinai He called them in covenant to be His holy nation in trust and obedience. He then revealed His standards for the sacrificial system which made possible the access of a sinner to this Holy God, and such a possibility was solely a provision of His covenant grace. The way to God through blood was provided by the grace of God and not by man, and is so indicated by the emphatic pronoun "I Myself" when He says in Lev. 17:11b, "I Myself have given it (the blood) to you upon the altar to make atonement for your lives."

So much for the clear and general teaching of Lev. 17:11, but what is the exact meaning of the b-clause and c-clause expression "make atonement" (**kipper**)? This is more difficult to decide.

> The oft-stated purpose of the sacrifices in Leviticus is 'to atone' (*kipper*, Lev. i.4, *etc.*). This verb may be explained in one of three ways: 'to cover', from the Arab. *kafara*; 'to wipe away', from the Akkadian *kuppuru*; 'to ransom by a substitute', from the Heb. noun *koper*.[9]

The cover-obliterate-ransom selection is not as difficult exegetically as it is etymologically, although it is true that all three notions in the Old Testament are common in regard to sin. For example, the notion "to cover" is expressed in Psa. 32:1 as "Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered (**kasa**)," which verse is quoted in Rom. 4:7 (**epikalupto**). I Pet. 4:8 says that "love covers (**kalupto**) a multitude of sins." The notion "to obliterate" (wipe out, blot out) is also common, Isa. 44:22 being an example: "I have wiped out (**maha**) your transgressions like a thick cloud, and your sins like a heavy mist. Return to Me, for I have redeemed (**gaal**) you" (cf. Isa. 43:25). In Acts 3:19 the words of Peter are "Repent therefore and return, that your sins may be wiped away (**exaleipho**) . . ." (cf. Col. 2:14). In Neh. 4:5 (Hebrew 3:37) the covering of iniquity and the blotting/wipping out of sin are used in parallelism (cf. Psa. 109:14, Prov. 6:33). And then there is the notion "to ransom," such as Hos. 13:14 which says, "I will ransom (**pada**) them from the power of Sheol; I will redeem (**gaal**) them from death."

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the blood that maketh an atonement *for* the soul" (and wrongly equating *yekhapper be-* "to make atonement with" and b-clause *lekhapper al-* "to make atonement for;" cf. the Brown-Driver-Briggs *Hebrew and English Lexicon,* p. 498a). As indicated, nearly everyone today prefers the rendering *"by reason of* the life (soul)" over the unidiomatic *"for* the life (soul)."

[9] R. J. Thompson, ibid., p. 1120.

Jesus Himself gave His life as the ransom for men (Mt. 20:28 **lutron**, I Tim. 2:6 **antilutron**; see the related **apoluo** "to redeem" and **apolutrosis** "redemption"). It seems that the word "to ransom" (**pada**) emphasizes the idea of payment, and "to redeem" (**gaal**) has the additional notion of a personal relationship through kinsman deliverance.

It would seem that of the common cover-obliterate-ransom images, "to atone" (**kipper**) comes closest to a ransom (**kopher**), the third etymological option, especially in the case of Lev. 17:11 with its rationale of life for lives. One may see this in the case of material goods donated "to make atonement for our lives" (**lekhapper al-naphshothenu**, Num. 31:50), to which should be compared the half-shekel of the sanctuary which an Israelite gave as "a ransom for his life" (**kopher naphsho**, Ex. 30:12), such "atonement money" (**keseph hakkippurim**) serving "to make atonement for your lives" (**lekhapper al-naphshothekhem**, vs. 16). If "to make atonement for" means most basically "to ransom," then the idea of substitution and propitiation (expiation, appeasement) are central. This is reflected in the Greek Septuagint translation of "to make atonement" in Lev. 17:11b by the verb "to propitiate" (**exilaskomai**). The propitation idea is most basic to the New Testament doctrine of atonement (see the Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich **Greek-English Lexicon**, p. 376), as evidenced by **hilaskomai** "to propitiate, expiate" (Heb. 2:17), **hilasmos** "expiation, propitiation" (I Jn. 2:2, 4:10), and **hilasterion** "expiation gift" (Rom. 3:25), "place of propitiation" (Heb. 9:5, the "mercy-seat," Luther's **Gnadenstuhl**).

The propitiating substitute nicely dovetails with the whole Old Testament system of vicarious substitution-representation (**pars pro toto** "the part for the whole"). This can be seen in both the first-born and the first fruits, and by the laying on of hands. The token portions of the blood offerings (blood and fat) belong here, as well as the **azkara** (token, "memorial") portion of the non-blood offerings. Animal life-death-blood-body for human life-death-blood-body find their ultimate vicarious substitutionary expression in the divinely innocent life for lives— the Christ for His people. All the nuances of atonement point in the same direction—substitution. Its function is to remedy the situation of the exposure of sin before the holy gaze of God, and the corresponding alienation. The substitute takes the place of sin as ransom, thus appeasing the righteous wrath of God toward sin; the substitute covers sin from His sight; the substitute blots out sin, erasing the ordinances against us.

Far beyond a general homage or thanksgiving, we see that the meaning of sacrifice is atonement, the main end of whose holy gifts is expiation. The three ends of sacrifice are expiation, consecration and celebration, and will be developed somewhat fully in the next section on Sacrificial Procedure. We have seen

here that sin makes expiation necessary. Consecration, however, does not find its base in sin, it being the natural activity of sinless creatures (such as man before the fall). But this severely externalized form of consecration may be the result of sin. This is but one facet of the tremendous teaching function of the law of God.

III. Sacrificial Procedure: Three Categories and the Six Ritual Acts

OUTLINE

The outline for this somewhat involved section, which subsumes the six sacrificial ritual acts under three ceremonial categories, is as follows:

A. Expiation (Crisis Experience)
  1. Presentation (of the beast)
  2. Leaning (on the beast's head)
  3. Slaughter (of the beast)
  4. Manipulation (of the beast's blood)
B. Consecration (Changing Experience)
  5. Sublimation (of the corpse)
C. Celebration (Sharing Experience)
  6. Meal (communion-feasting on the offerings)

A. Expiation (Crisis Experience)

1. Presentation. Here the offerer presents, i.e. "brings near" (**hiqriv**), or "brings" (**hevi**), or simply "makes" (**asa**) his offering of a clean beast.

Only the blood (animal) sacrifices could be used for expiation, due, of course, to the presence of blood in them, but they were also used for consecration. The non-blood (vegetable) sacrifices functioned for consecration alone. In the blood (animal) sacrifice the two ideas of expiation and consecration found joint expression, and the intimate union between the two is also brought out in the rule that **no non-blood sacrifice could be brought except on the basis of a preceding blood sacrifice.** There appears to have been only one exception to this rule, namely, extreme poverty: in the trespass offering a lamb or goat was to be presented, but if poor then two birds, and in the case of extreme poverty just fine flour (Lev. 5:11). It is not that any of the bloodless sacrifices negated the idea of expiation, but rather they presupposed it, and in this case of extreme poverty God graciously condescends in mercy to reckon it so. The book of Hebrews takes account of an exception to the rule, apparently this one, when it says, "And according to the Law, one may almost (**schedon**) say, all things are cleansed with blood, and without shedding of blood there is no forgiveness" (Heb. 9:22).

All of the animals had to be ritually pure, ceremonially clean. But not all that was clean was allowed for sacrifice. From the animal kingdom: oxen, sheep, goats and pigeons. From the vegetable kingdom: grain, wine and oils. Together they represent the entirety of the offerer's life in consecration to the Lord, both what sustained the life of the offerer, and what the toil of his life produced. With these specific clean things he had a familiar "biotic rapport," perhaps thus qualifying them for sacrifice to serve as his double, representing in a vital substitutionary way the totality of his life. Sacrifices may be characterized as the gift of life to God.

Parenthetically, the observation perhaps should be made that the vegetable offerings, which presuppose the blood offerings, are subordinate to them, but not inferior. Just as Christ is subordinate (but not inferior) to the Father, His Coequal, and just as a woman is created to be subordinate (but not inferior) to her coequal man (Gen. 1:27), so, in a sense, the vegetable offerings are not inferior to the blood offerings, but find their proper office, function and role in being subsequent to the shedding of blood which, in the realm of sin, must be prior. Perhaps this is the best explanation of the Cain and Abel story. Cain's faithlessness is not to be proved by a vegetable offering reckoned as if inferior. Could it be that Cain was jealous of the sequence? Could it be that he wanted, in untypological fashion, to be first? Would a man who is not thinking the thoughts of God willingly yield in love and truth priority to a coequal? The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, but pride goes before a fall.

Finally, one question remains in regard to the presentation of a clean beast. How can the perfectly normal and flawless animal figure as a double (substitute) for a sinner? It is simply, yet profoundly, that God graciously reckons it to be so in a symbolico-vicarious way. He substitutes for the imperfect offerer the perfect animal-substitute, but not groundlessly, for all this is because of its typological union with Christ, Whom it foreshadows. We have been redeemed "with precious blood, as of a lamb unblemished and spotless, the blood of Christ" (I Pet. 1:19).

> 2. **Leaning.** The offerer lays his hand(s), literally leans (**samakh**) his hand(s), upon the head of the beast.

It appears that this action of the offerer was an act of faith, confession and transfer, signifying the transfer of the sin and its death penalty to the animal substitute. All of the passages refer to bloody offerings (for Leviticus see 1:4, 3:2, 4:4, 15, 24, 29, 33), the (bloodless) vegetable offerings never receiving this symbolic action of laying on of hands. This very definitely

strengthens the idea of transfer, for bloodless offerings were not expiatory, being unsuitable for carrying away sin. Contrary to the Roman Catholic position (cf. Roland deVaux), the laying on of hands did not signify mere identification, ownership, or donation (cf. the mass). The vegetable offerings were just as much "owned and donated," yet they did **not** receive this ritual act of the laying on of hands. From the analogy of other occasions where the laying on of hands symbolized the transfer of blessing or curse from one person to another (e.g. Gen. 48: 13-14, Lev. 24:14, Num. 8:10, 27:18-20, Deut. 34:9), the case for transfer with regard to animals is strengthened.

Perhaps the strongest case for transfer can be made from Lev. 16:21, even though the verse refers to the live scapegoat (**azazel**-goat) of the day of atonement. Below is Lev. 16:21-22, the expressions most significant for this study being underlined, or even transliterated in parentheses.

> (21) Then Aaron shall *lay (samakh) both of his hands on the head of the live goat, and confess (hithwadda) over it all the iniquities* of the sons of Israel, and all their transgressions in regard to all their sins; and he shall *lay (nathan) them on the head* of the goat and send it away into the wilderness by the hand of a man who stands in readiness. (22) And the goat shall *bear (nasa) on itself all their iniquities* to a solitary land; and he shall release the goat in the wilderness (Lev. 16:21-22).

While the other goat, mentioned earlier in the chapter and slain as a sin offering, symbolized the **transfer** of sin and its death penalty, the live scapegoat of verses 21 and 22 symbolized the **transfer** of sin and its visible **removal** away from the presence of the Lord and His people. Parenthetically, it can be noted here that removal of sin is further symbolized by the fact that in specific cases certain portions of the sin offering were taken **outside** the camp and burned (Lev. 4:12, 21). "Therefore Jesus also . . . suffered outside the gate," and bearing His reproach we "go out to Him outside the camp" (see Heb. 13:11-13).

So here we have the Biblical idea of imputation, whereby God reckons or ascribes a transfer—a vicarious situation. Again, how can the life blood of an animal be reckoned as a double for the believer? It is imputed to be so. Why would God so reckon it? Totally because of the grace and merits of **Christ** here foreshadowed, **God's** lamb, **our** Passover.

3. Slaughter. The offerer then slays (shahat) the beast on the altar.

The offerer, not the priest, slays the beast at the altar, which is in fact a house of God (cf. Bethel), a tabernacle in miniature. Hence it is described as the place where God records His

name and meets with His people, blessing them with His presence (Ex. 20:24). Here the holy gaze of God and the sin of man are covenantally covered by the satisfactory and atoning blood (Ex. 24:6). The laws about the tabernacle in the closing chapters of Exodus are immediately followed by the altar-theology of the opening chapters of Leviticus, the altar being the microcosmic tabernacle of God's soteric Lordship.

The word "altar" (**mizbeah**) means "the place of slaughter." Altar-death (slaughter) is not merely the means to get blood and fat, but is in fact the penalty itself. This fact is more clearly brought out in other examples, such as breaking the neck of the heifer as expiation for an unknown murderer's crime (Deut. 21:4), and Moses offering his life in the place of his covenantally wayward people (Ex. 32:32).

> 4. **Manipulation.** The priest manipulates the blood by tossing (**zaraq**) it against the sides of the altar, or by taking (**laqah**) some of it, dipping (**taval**) his fingertips into it, and putting (**nathan**) it on some objects, while sprinkling (**hizza**) it on others. The remainder of the blood may be simply poured (**shaphakh, yatsaq**) or (with fowl) drained (**matsa**) into the altar.

Whereas it was the offerer himself who performed the three ritual acts of presentation, leaning, and slaughter, the above act of manipulation of the blood was performed by the priests, who alone handled the blood in various ways and places. The sheer bulk of the Levitical terminology shows how large this liturgical action looms in the Mosaic books. The key passage on the role of blood is Lev. 17:11, which has already been discussed under General Considerations, and, as indicated there, life works atonement for life through the altar-shedding of blood, which serves to ransom-cover-obliterate sin and death from the presence of God. Blood in its normal state does not expiate. The only expiatory blood is that which has passed through the crisis of altar-death. "And according to the Law, one may almost say, all things are cleansed with blood, and without shedding of blood there is no forgiveness" (Heb. 9:22). Blood is a symbol of life, life departing, death, and cleansing (cf. Lev. 16:30). So with manipulation of blood the Mosaic expiation paradigm is complete: BLOOD = LIFE (presentation of guiltless) + SIN (hands transfer-impute guilt) + DEATH (the slaughter penalty) + CLEANSING (restoration of guilty). This collocation is Messianic as well:

> But God demonstrates His own love (LIFE) toward us, in that while we were yet sinners (SIN), Christ died (DEATH) for us. Much more then, having been justified (CLEANS-

ING) by His blood (BLOOD is the life-symbol, the life-paradigm), we shall be saved (CLEANSING) from the wrath (DEATH as SIN'S wage) of God through Him (LIFE) Rom. 5:8-9).

Before leaving the subject of blood, a practical word of caution to Christians might be in order. The large role of blood and substitutionary atonement should serve to guard against nonsubstitutionary and humanistic views of atonement, and views which fail to reckon with the seriousness of sin. We must not be ashamed of the **blood** of Christ as God's only way. We should be ashamed not of the blood but of our sin, and the horrible cost of our sin in God's plan of redemption. On the other hand, Bible believing Christians who emphasize the message of being washed in the blood of the Lamb of Calvary should not attribute magical powers to the blood itself. With all the emphasis on blood one must be aware that, in a technical sense, it is not, per se, the **blood** of Christ that saves us, but rather His **life**, life which has vicariously undergone the crisis of death, death at the bloody altar of Golgotha.

With presentation, leaning, slaughter and manipulation the Levitical expiation category is complete.

B. Consecration (Changing Experience)

As stated in the General Considerations, the three ceremonial categories which serve to integrate the bewildering mass of redemptive details are expiation, consecration and celebration. Again, expiation (payment) was the main end of the sacrificial system, synthesizing four of the six ritual acts. Moving from the crisis experience of expiation (propitiation) we now turn to the changing experience of consecration (dedication). Consecration is the category of complete commitment or devotion to God, and for this there is only one action in the sacrificial ritual that is **exclusively** consecratory, namely the fifth ritual act—sublimation.

> 5. **Sublimation.** The priest "burns" (**hiqtir**) certain animals, parts and organs of animals, and certain grains upon the altar for "a sweet-smelling aroma to the Lord" (**reah nihoah ladonay**).

The verb descriptive of burning at the altar is everywhere **hiqtir**, meaning "to make sacrificial smoke or incense, to fumigate." In modern chemical terminology the word would be "to sublimate," or slowly turn a solid substance into a gas. The point here is that the burning at the altar is not the rapid destructive burning (**saraph**), but the slow, incense-producing kind (**hiqtir**), reducing the offering to a finer substance. This would be true both of the burnt offering (**ola**) which was burnt as a whole

(**kalil**), and of portions of all other offerings. Of course, the purpose of sublimation, burning of the sublimating kind, was to yield a sweet aroma of delight to Yahweh. By contrast, in the case of an offering whose parts are burned outside the camp (removal of sin), the regular verb for rapid destructive burning (**saraph**) is used (e.g. Lev. 4:12, cf. 7:17).

All of the burning was an act of consecration, as is shown by the fact that the vegetable offering, which was not expiatory (because bloodless), underwent burning in exactly the same manner as the animal offering. In fact, all offerings enter this consecration category in that all offerings involved some burning on the altar, and could therefore be called **ishe**, "an offering by fire" (e.g. Lev. 1:9, 2:11).

Just as expiation was substitutionary, so too consecration. The commitment of the animal or grain victim to the altar-flames was total. Christ is our substitutionary consecration. As Eph. 5:2 says: "Walk in love, just as Christ also loved you and gave Himself up for us, **an offering and a sacrifice to God as a fragrant aroma.**"

C. Celebration (Sharing Experience)

The third and final category of sacrificial ritual acts is celebration, the sharing experience of reconciliation-joy. While celebration has lately loomed large in innovative worship, it is sadly neglected in the secondary literature on Leviticus and Old Testament sacrificial worship. Expiation is there rightly stressed, followed by a discussion of the consecration aspect. We suggest that celebration be added, as it is clearly taught by the sixth and final ritual act, the meal of holy communion-feasting.

> **6. Meal.** The offerer "eats" (**akhal**) the sacrificial meal of peace offerings (**shelamim**) with the cultic personnel, being the guest of God in holy communion.

This final meal-stage of the ritual of sacrifice is unique to the peace offerings (Lev. 7:11-18, Deut. 12:13-19, 14:26, 16:10-11, 26:10-11, 27:7), offerings which express the bond of fidelity and covenantal well-being. (Compare the Passover of Exodus 12 and Deuteronomy 16, which is an annual species of peace-offering meal eaten in redemption fellowship, celebrating deliverance from Satan's tyranny in Egypt.) The offerer celebrates positive favor and blessing with God in the joy of forgiveness. The peace-offering meal is a gift of Yahweh, for He, not the offerer, ordains the meal at His house, the tabernacle-temple. Yahweh is the Host, as in the case of His meal with the nobles of Israel in the covenant ratification ceremony on Mount Sinai (Exodus 24, especially vs. 5 with "peace offerings," and vs. 11 with ". . . they beheld God, and they ate and drank"). The wor-

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shipper was the guest of Yahweh, sharing in His altar, partaking of His table. Such is also confirmed by the apostle Paul who speaks of the nation of Israel which ate sacrifices as being sharers in the altar, partaking of the table of the Lord (I Cor. 10:18-21), and contrasts all other sacrificial "worship" as sacrificing to demons. (For sacrificial communion with demons, see Ex. 34:15.)

Predictably, any celebration which is "in Christ," pre-supposing altar-shed blood, is substitutionary celebration. Christ is not only specifically our Passover (I Cor. 5:7), but also more generally is our Peace Offering. This is probably expressed by the apostle in Eph. 2:13-14:

> But now in Christ Jesus you who formerly were far off have been *brought near by the blood of Christ*. For He Himself is *our peace*, who made both groups into one, and broke down the barrier of the dividing wall, . . .

The two groups, the Jews and the Gentiles in Christ, have been reconciled to each other and to God, for the Gentiles, formerly "alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenants of promise" (vs. 12), have now been brought near to God by the blood of Christ our peace. There seems to be a double wordplay here. The expression "brought near" seems to allude to both reconciliation of those afar off, and to the Hebrew sacrificial expression (**hiqriv**) "to bring near, present sacrifice," now through the blood of Christ. The expression "our peace" (**he eirene hemon**) seems to allude to both peaceful restoration, and to the Old Testament peace offering (**zevah shelamim**, LXX **thusia soteriou**, "offering of well-being, reconciliation," both private blessing and corporate harmony), now through the blood of Christ. The alienation has been removed, for Christ Our Peace removes the holy gaze of an offended God. Truly "the wages of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Rom. 6:23).

IV. Significance of Ritual Acts: Three Fulfillment Aspects

The three basic Biblical ceremonial-procedural categories of Old Testament sacrifice—expiation, consecration, and cele-bration—have been discussed, and we now turn to draw out the New Testament ramifications of these by seeing all three of the above categories from each of three additional fulfillment as-pects—objective, subjective, and ceremonial. The first aspect to be considered by way of New Testament application is the **objective-central**, namely Christ Himself. The second aspect is the **subjective-individual**, which is Christ within the Christian. The third and final aspect of New Testament ramifications is the **ceremonial-corporate**, being Christ in the Christian Cere-monies (recurrent ceremonial worship). The rituals to be con-

sidered are the **recurrent** Christian rituals of Holy Communion (Eucharist, Pedilavium, Agape), omitting in this study the **non**-recurrent ("once for all") ritual continuum of circumcision-baptism. Special emphasis will be given to clarifying the significance of the less frequently discussed ceremonial washing of feet (Pedilavium) and the love-feast (Agape). Plentiful attestation to the sacrificial language of the New Testament will now be given and highlighted, but is not intended to be exhaustive. The New Testament is very rich in sacrificial quotations, allusions and terms which relate to these categories and aspects.

A. Objective-Central Aspect: Christ

1. Expiation (Crisis-Blood): The Death of Christ

Christ is our expiation, and Scriptural application at this point is extremely rich. It was during the **Passover** holiday (Mt. 26:2, Lk. 22:15, Jn. 13:1) that Jesus was **crucified** as the expiation for the sins of His people. While the priests were caring for the Jerusalem temple, Jesus offered His own **flesh** for sin, and the temple veil guarding the **Holy of Holies** was torn from top to bottom (Mt. 27:51, Mk. 15:38, Lk. 23:45). This is the new, **living way**, the veil of His **flesh** (Heb. 10:20). Sanctifying power now comes through the **offering** of the **body** of Jesus (Heb. 10:10). He **bore** our sins in His own **body** on the cross (I Pet. 2: 24), whose **flesh** is **bread** from heaven (Jn. 6:51). Christ **died** for the ungodly (Rom. 5:6), who have now been reconciled to God by His **death** (Rom. 5:10). God **delivered** up His own Son for us all (Rom. 8:32), and yet He **willingly offered up Himself** (Heb. 7:27, 9:26, 28, I Jn. 3:16), an **offering without blemish** (Heb. 9:14), which He, being faithful **High Priest, offered** once as the one **sacrifice** for sins (Heb. 10:12, 14, I Pet. 3:18). This expiatory offering is none other than the **Lamb** of God (Jn. 1: 29, 36), who as victorious **Lord-Lamb** is both the **temple** and its **lamp** (Rev. 21:22-23). This **unblemished Lamb** made **atonement** by means of His own precious **blood** (I Pet. 1:19). Indeed, Christ **purchased** the church with His own **blood** (Acts 20:28), for it is He who says, "This is **my blood of the covenant**" (Mt. 26:28, Mk. 14:24, Lk. 22:20, I Cor. 11:25, Heb. 13:20). It is through His own **blood** that He entered the **Holy Place** once for all (Heb. 9:12, 10:19), which **blood-sprinkling** speaks of better things than Abel (Heb. 12:24). In His **blood** He **suffered outside the gate** (Heb. 13:12), yet the **blood** of His cross (Col. 1:20) our **Peace**, has **brought us near** to God (Eph. 2:13-14), for we have been **purchased for God** by His **blood** (Rev. 5:9). His **blood** is our **propitiation** (Rom. 3:25, Heb. 2:17, I Jn. 4:10), and by it we have been released from our sins (Rev. 1:5). It is difficult to say it more concisely than has the apostle in II Cor. 5:21 by say-

ing, "He made Him who knew no sin to be sin on our behalf, that we might become the righteousness of God in Him."

2. Consecration (Changing-Fire): The Life of Christ

In addition to the expiatory (body-)blood of Christ, His (body-)life is also our consecration. Scripture speaks of both his active and passive obedience. Having been reconciled through His death, much more we shall be saved by His life (Rom. 5:10). We are commanded to walk in love just as Christ has loved us, and gave Himself up for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God as a fragrant aroma (Eph. 5:2). This shows that Christ's life of love, even unto death, is the sweet savor of a sublimating sacrifice, on fire and well-pleasing in consecration to God. Christ is a faithful and compassionate high priest whose consecration is complete, even being tempted (yet without sin) in that which He suffered (Heb. 2:18). Christ is our Passover, the consecrated unleavened bread of sincerity and truth which has been sacrificed (I Cor. 5:6-8). Perhaps the ultimate and most scandalous servanthood of Christ is in the washing of His servants' feet (Jn. 13:5, 7-8, 12, 14-15). He washed, but was not washed by any, since He needed no cleansing from sin. He loved His own and loved them to the end (Jn. 13:1). He is Lord, Teacher and Servant (vss. 13-16) who with basin and towel challenges all human notions of consecration, service and greatness.

3. Celebration (Sharing-Meal): The Supper of Christ

Christ is also our Celebration. The blessed marriage supper toward which all history presses is the marriage supper of the Lamb (Rev. 19:9). Such consummation celebration will be when His joy is full. His last supper in the upper room was a type of it—a prophetic action both sacramental and typical, participating in both "the already" and "the not yet." Jesus said that He would not objectively celebrate it with them again until His return, not drinking of the fruit of the vine again until He drinks it new with us in the kingdom of God (Mt. 26:29, Mk. 14:25, Lk. 22:17-18), and not eating the Passover again until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God (Lk. 22:16). At the marriage of the Lamb, the sharing experience of celebration-feasting will find exhaustive expression, and so shall we ever be with the Lord, eating and drinking at His table in His kingdom (Lk. 22:30, Mt. 8:11; cf. Ex. 24:11).

B. Subjective-Individual Aspect: Christ within the Christian

Although it is the active and passive obedience of the Christian that is in view here (the subjective-individual aspect), it is the Christian conforming to the image of God in Christ

through the power of the Holy Spirit (Christ within the Christian). While we think, do, and say things which relate to the categories of expiation, consecration, and celebration, we are recipients and agents of these categories. Without Him we can do nothing (Jn. 15:5). This "nothing" not only excludes our doing anything relating to expiation, obvious to most, but also anything consecratory or celebrative! For it is not we that live, but Christ lives in us (cf. Gal. 2:20), and therefore we must surely experience all three of these categories in Him, because He wants us to conform to His image, and He has willed to experience them anew in us.

1. Expiation (Crisis-Blood): Conversion

Essentially, the subjective-individual aspect of expiation is the Christian's conversion-crisis (die to sin; redeemed), and that of consecration is his sanctification-changing (live to righteousness; growing). There is a lot of sacrificial language in the New Testament for these aspects also. While they are inextricably related to one another in the Bible, the Bible at time highlights one or the other. We are recipients and agents of all three sacrificial categories, but with regard to expiation alone, we are passively so. For to the Lord Jesus expiation alone is wholly active, and for His own it alone is wholly passive. We can do nothing expiatory. Jesus paid it all.

As recipients of Christ's expiation, the Scriptures declare that we have been justified by His blood (Rom. 5:9). He Himself is the propitiation of our sins (I Jn. 2:2). We have redemption through blood, the forgiveness of our trespasses, according to the riches of His grace (Eph. 1:7), having been redeemed with precious blood, as of a lamb unblemished and spotless (I Pet. 1:18-19). We have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Christ once for all (Heb. 10:10, cf. vs. 29), and so also by His own blood (Heb. 13:12), having our hearts sprinkled clean from an evil conscience (Heb. 10:22). We have been foreknown by the Father, set apart by the Spirit for obedience to Christ, by whose blood we have been sprinkled (I Pet. 1:2). For Christ died for sins once for all, the just for the unjust, in order that He might bring us to God (I Pet. 3:18). Yes we, afar off, have been brought near by the blood of Christ, our Peace (Eph. 2:13-14). We have both died and risen with Christ, and are therefore dead to the greed of the world, which is essentially idolatry (Col. 3:1-3). Through the cross, "the world has been crucified to me and I to the world" (Gal. 6:14).

2. Consecration (Changing-Fire): Sanctification

Christ is both our expiation and consecration as is demonstrated by their frequent collocation in Scripture. We have been

reconciled by His death, and shall be saved by His life (Rom. 5:10, Col. 1:22). The blood of Christ cleanses the conscience from dead works to serve the living God (Heb. 9:14, I Jn. 1:7). We have been healed by the wounds of Christ, who bore our sins in His body on the cross, that we might die to sin and live to righteousness (I Pet. 2:24). It is He "who gave Himself for us that He might redeem us from every lawless deed and purify for Himself a people for His own possession, zealous for good deeds" (Tit. 2:14). Having released us from our sins by His blood, He has made us priests to His God and Father (Rev. 1:5-6). We also have been made the unleavened bread of God, which constrains us to clean out any remaining old or renewed leaven, that we might celebrate the feast of unleavened bread through consecration, not with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth (I Cor. 5:6-8). How truly rich this language is! Yet in the imitation of Christ, how encompassing also this consecration can be, by not loving one's life even to death, but overcoming every foe through the blood of the Lamb (Rev. 12:11). "By this we know love, that He laid down His life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren" (I Jn. 3:16).

When coming to the verses which speak exclusively (or almost so) about subjective-individual consecration, again in the language of sacrificial terminology, one is impressed again how large this theme looms in the New Testament, especially in the epistles. Christ Himself spoke of the "cross" of a Christian, and how he must deny himself, take up his own cross and follow the Lord (Mt. 10:38, 16:24, Mk. 8:34, Lk. 14:27), even daily (Lk. 9:23). We are to present our bodies as a living and holy sacrifice, acceptable to God, being our spiritual service of worship (Rom. 12:1). We are as living stones, being built up as a spiritual house for a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God (I Pet. 2:5), even specifically a royal priesthood for proclaiming His excellencies (I Pet. 2:9). These "spiritual sacrifices" (pneumatikai thusiai) which we, in Christ, offer up to God are the many and varied aspects of (His-our) consecration, such as the list in Hebrews 13, where we are commanded to go out to Him, outside the camp, bearing His reproach (Heb. 13:13), and where then follows the sacrificial list of first praise (cf. 12:28, Psa. 119:108, Hos. 14:2), and then doing good and sharing (cf. Mt. 9:13, 12:7, Mk. 12:33):

> Through Him then, let us *continually offer up* a *sacrifice of praise* to God, that is, the *fruit of our lips* that *give thanks* to His name. And do not neglect *doing good and sharing*; for with such *sacrifices* God is *pleased* (Heb. 13:15-16).

The gift sent to the apostle Paul by the believers of Philippi was a fragrant aroma, an acceptable sacrifice, well-pleasing to God

(Phil. 4:18). Paul himself was ministering as a **priest** the gospel of God so that his **offering of the Gentiles** might become **acceptable** (Rom. 15:16). Not only are those won to Christ a sweet offering to God, but the knowledge of Christ itself, and we through whom it is manifested in mission, are also a sweet aroma, for as Paul says, God "manifests **through us** the **sweet aroma** of the **knowledge of Him** in every place. For **we** are a **fragrance of Christ to God** . . ." (II Cor. 2:14-15). Paul viewed this as His calling and joyful mission, even if he were to be "**poured out** as a **drink offering** upon the **sacrifice and service of your faith**" (Phil. 2:17). Paul told Timothy that his life was already being **poured out as a drink offering** (II Tim. 4:6). He always **carried about in his body the dying of Jesus** that the **life of Jesus** also might be manifested in **his body** (II Cor. 4:10). He bore in his **body** even the consecratory **brand-marks** of Jesus' own consecration (Gal. 6:17).

Among the "spiritual sacrifices" which have been enumerated as manifestations of our subjective-individual consecration to the Lord are the **spiritual sacrifice** of service, of righteousness, of purification, of zeal for good works, of priestly service, of sincerity, of truth, of martyrdom, of self-denial, of obedience, of worship, of proclamation, of praise, of doing good, of sharing, of giving, of converts won by us, of knowledge spread by us, of faith-service, of our mission, of our life and body.

> So then, my beloved, just as you have always obeyed, . . . *work out your salvation* with fear and trembling; *for it is God who is at work in you*, both to will and to work for His good pleasure (Phil. 2:12-13).

3. Celebration (Sharing-Meal): Communion Joy

Finally, Christ is also our celebration, even in its subjective-individual aspect. What is in view here is the human participant's **joy** in Holy Communion, the blessing of a sacrificial meal, the **sharing** experience of covenantal feasting. When God had given the Ten Commandments, He further gave instructions for the altar, including peace offerings, and promised His sacramental presence by saying, "**I** will come to you and **bless you**" (Ex. 20: 24). After the book of the covenant had been given, the covenant was ratified by communion meal on Mount Sinai with Yahweh as Host, and the nobles of Israel as His guests, "and they beheld God, and they ate and drank" (Ex. 24:11, cf. the peace offerings of vs. 5). As has been earlier stated, within the regular sacrificial system the peace offerings could be eaten by the **worshipper** with the cultic personnel, celebrating the joy of sins forgiven (Lev. 7:11-18). The exhortations of Deuteronomy frequently enjoin great rejoicing at these sacrificial meals with the refrain,

"You shall rejoice before the Lord your God" (Deut. 12:12, 18, 16:11, 26:11, 27:7; cf. the peace offerings of Deut. 12:11, 17, 16:10). In regard to eating the second tithe and firstlings at the sanctuary, the Lord enjoins that "there you shall eat in the presence of the Lord your God and rejoice, you and your household" (Deut. 14:26), and on occasions, in addition to the offerer, his household and the Levite, joining the feast are the alien, the orphan, and the widow (Deut. 12:12, 18, 14:29, 16:11, 26:12). These sacrificial meals furnished both an occasion and an object of rejoicing before the Lord. Those who joyfully ate these sacrifices were "sharers in the altar" (I Cor. 10:18).

The Lord Jesus at His last supper, in spite of its sorrowful circumstances, maintained the joy of covenant meal and fellowship. He had an earnest desire to eat that Passover with them before He suffered (Lk. 22:15-16). He gave thanks for the cup in the meal just before the Eucharist proper (Lk. 22:17). He displayed the spirit of thankfulness when he gave thanks for the bread of the Eucharist (Lk. 22:19). He blessed that bread (Mt. 26:26, Mk. 14:22, I Cor. 11:24, cf. Lk. 24:30), and gave thanks for the subsequent cup (Mt. 26:27, Mk. 14:23). He urged them to take this and to share it among themselves Lk. 22:17). In the spirit of Biblical praise they concluded by singing a hymn, the sacrifice of their lips, exalting God's goodness and its consequent blessings (Mt. 26:30, Mk. 14:26). The inimitable manner with which Jesus performed these joyful actions, including His deeply-felt blessing of the Father, no doubt caused Him to be recognized at the point of His breaking the bread by the men who were on the way to Emmaus (Lk. 24:30, 35).

Joy in the Holy Spirit characterized the early church at meal together. They went breaking bread from house to house, taking their meals together "with gladness and sincerity of heart" (Acts 2:46). Since the early church met in private homes (e.g. Philemon 2), the Eucharist easily continued in the context of a fellowship meal. They met together for the purpose of eating the Lord's Supper (cf. I Cor. 11:20), a love-feast (Agape) in Jesus Christ the Savior (Jude 12). It was a time of thankfulness (I Cor. 10:30), sharing in the body (bread) and blood (cup) of Christ (vs. 16), and in unifying oneness (vs. 17). When they in the imitation of Christ engaged in the washing of feet, their blessing must have increased through service and sharing, for Jesus said knowing these things they would be blessed if they did them (Jn. 13:17). Above all, through these meals they were proclaiming the Lord's death until He comes again (I Cor. 11:26). Then communion joy will be complete, when we eat and drink at His table in His kingdom (Lk. 22:30). "Blessed are those who are invited to the marriage supper of the Lamb" (Rev. 19:9). Then we will go on from regeneration and sanctification unto glorification, from glory to greater glory, entering

into the joy of our Lord, the very joy which was set before Him who endured the cross, and is at the right hand of the throne of God (Heb. 12:2).

C. Ceremonial-Corporate Aspect: Christ in the Christian Ceremonies

The question at hand is to determine what are the New Testament ceremonial or ritual reflexes to the Old Testament ceremonial categories of expiation, consecration and celebration. From these categories, as we have seen, flowed the six sacrificial ritual acts of presentation, leaning, slaughter and manipulation; sublimation; and meal. In terms of fulfillment aspects, all three of these categories have already been discussed both from their objective and subjective aspects in New Testament fulfillment, but not from the aspect of ceremonial fulfillment. In other words, our task now is to determine what New Testament rituals correspond to expiation, consecration, and celebration.

1. Expiation (Crisis-Blood): Eucharist

The New Testament ceremonial reflex to expiation is, without question, the Eucharist. The body and blood of the innocent Victim passing through the crisis experience of death on the altar of Golgotha is powerfully memorialized by the (unleavened) bread and the (red) wine of the Holy Communion service.

Some of the names of this sacrament are "Eucharist" (eucharistia, "thanksgiving"), "Communion" (koinonia), "the bread and the cup of blessing" (eulogia), or "the bread and cup of thanksgiving" (eucharistia), so indicated by I Cor. 10:16 as follows: "The cup of blessing (eulogia) which we bless, is it not the communion (koinonia) of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion (koinonia) of the body of Christ?" The variant Greek reading here for "blessing" (eulogia) is "thanksgiving" (eucharistia). The identity of "blessing" and "thanksgiving" stems from the Greek attempt to translate the Hebrew (and Aramaic) term "bless/blessing" (berakh/berakha), which means to bless God for something, i.e. to return thanks. The term "communion" (koinonia) means "sharing, participation, fellowship," having things in common (cf. koine, the common Greek). The reference in Acts 2:42 to the "breaking of the loaf" (ho artos, so also in I Cor. 10:16) probably refers to the Eucharist as well.

The Eucharist is, above all, a memorial of atonement, recalling the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ who said, "Do this in remembrance of Me" (Lk. 22:19, I Cor. 11:24-25). We are proclaiming our Lord's past death until He comes again (I Cor. 11: 26). It is at once a memorial (of the past), a sacrament (presently realized eschatology), and a type (futuristic action) of our

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union with each other and with Christ, "for we all partake of one bread (I Cor. 10:17), "a sharing in the body of Christ" (vs. 16). We remember "Christ our Passover" (I Cor. 5:7), just as Israel was commanded to observe the Passover feast memorializing the deliverance from Egypt (Deut. 16:3; cf. Jer. 16: 14-15).

The Eucharist is the consummation of all strands of covenant meal: (1) the annual family Passover in Exodus 12, (2) the covenant ratification meal of the elders in Exodus 24, now in the New Covenant of His blood with His disciples, (3) the peace-offering meal of communion between the laity and priests in Leviticus 7 celebrating the joy of forgiveness in covenant renewal and affirmation (so also Deut. 12, 14, and 16), eating the sacrifices as sharers in the altar (I Cor. 10:18), and possibly (4) a common fellowship meal (havura) of a small group of friends (haverim) in the faith, meeting for the uncommon purpose of sanctifying the law of God in their hearts, and celebrating as sacred all the social occasions which give expression to it.[10] Not only do all these sacrificial meals adumbrate the Last Supper, but so too does the (pot of) manna, the bread from heaven, which symbolizes the flesh of Christ, the living bread from heaven (Jn. 6:49-51), of which the bread of the Eucharist is the emblem. The same too may be said of the show-bread of the priests in the tabernacle-temple, the priesthood of all believers now feeding on this divine provision.

Now what has been said about these meals, manna and showbread with regard to the Eucharist may also be affirmed of the love-feast (the Agape meal), but with a different emphasis and role. Both Eucharist and Agape hark back to all of these, especially the Passover (see the discussion below of the Agape), but whereas the Eucharist maximizes on the expiatory category of Paschal body and blood for the atonement received, thus highlighting the covenantal aspects of ratification and renewal, the love-feast, on the other hand, emphasizes the celebrative category of Paschal body and blood for the atonement given, thus highlighting the covenantal aspects of sharing and fellowship. The longer and fuller activity of the Agape meal sustains the setting of covenant feasting. Perhaps one of the many reasons Eucharistic doctrine grew in importance to being almost a magical rite in medieval thought was due to losing its original setting of a meal of which it was the climaxing final act. The

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[10] For this last kind of fellowship meal, including the Kiddush (the fellowship supper ushering in the Sabbath), see F. Gavin, *The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1928), p. 64, and compare Leon Morris, *The Gospel according to John: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes,* New International Commentary on the New Testament, F. F. Bruce, gen. ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 779-80, 782.

setting of sustained feasting, fellowship and sharing with one another in the perfect bond of Christian love and joy is not counter to the due solemnity of the Eucharist, but is, in fact, climactically conducive to it.

This difference of emphasis and function is not to deny that all three categories of sacrificial ritual acts are, in fact, represented in the Eucharist. Expiating body and blood are paramount, but evidence of the substitutionary consecration is that the Paschal lamb was roasted in the fires of consecration, and that the Paschal bread was unleavened, i.e. consecrated bread, which symbol was probably perpetuated by Christ's own Last Supper and by present-day Eucharistic wafers. Substitutionary celebration is represented by ingesting the elements, a formal similarity it shares with the Passover meal. Both our Lord's Last Supper and its crowning Eucharist were unquestionably in a Passover setting. Jesus told His disciples to prepare the Passover (Mt. 26:17-18, Mk. 14:12, Lk. 22:7-8, 11); they prepared the Passover (Mt. 26:19, Mk. 14:16, Lk. 22:13, 15), and He ate the Paschal meal with them, climaxing with the bread and cup (Mt. 26:26-27, Mk. 14:22-23, Lk. 22:19-20), which He signifies is "My blood of the covenant" (Mt. 26:28, cf. Ex. 24:8; Mk. 14:24), "the new covenant in My blood" (Lk. 22:20). Finally, we also have His words of institution, "Do this in remembrance of me" (Lk. 22:19, cf. I Cor. 11:24-25). For a further description of the Passover Seder and the meal-segment of the Lord's Supper, see below the discussion of the love-feast under "Celebration." In short, the **emphasis** of the Eucharist is on the crisis experience of altar-shed blood, as is indicated by the fact that in all Eucharistic services the cup in His blood is the terminal and climaxing ritual act.

2. Consecration (Changing-Fire): Pedilavium

The New Testament ceremonial reflex to consecration is, in my view, the Pedilavium, i.e. the ceremonial washing of feet. This ceremony is also known as "feet-washing," "foot-washing," or "washing the saints' feet." The term **"ceremonial** washing of feet" (Pedilavium) is the best in that it distinguishes the corporate rite from the common or customary or hospitable pedal cleanliness. It is here that the full dedication of the sublimating (slow-burning) sacrificial offering finds fullest expression. So does the priestly laver at the tabernacle-temple receive its ectype (antitype) in Jesus Christ, the Servant of the Lord, who washes His disciples feet, and Who commands them as a priesthood of believers in His image to wash each others' feet.

The only New Testament text which speaks directly to this is Jn. 13:1-20, but is itself a major revelation of that ministry of our Lord which initiated the Farewell Discourses recorded by John in chapters 13-17. Like the farewell discourses of Moses

in Deuteronomy, Jesus gives these priceless Paschal addresses. But first He washes His disciples' feet, an act filled with the meaning of the cross and beyond.[11]

In vs. 1 it indicates that Jesus, having loved His own that were in the world, loved them unto the end. The Pedilavium and the cross illustrate the extent of this loving service. The feet-washing was **during** the evening meal (vs. 2),[12] from which He rose (vs. 4), and at which he later reclined again (vss. 12, 26). Such timing shows that this action of Jesus was more than social courtesy or mere humility, since in such a case He would have washed them upon arrival. In vs. 4 Jesus strips to the loincloth, just as a slave would do, and begins His rounds having clothed Himself with humility (cf. I Pet. 5:5). We think of the humble and submissive words of Abigail to David at his proposal of marriage, "Behold, your maidservant is a maid to wash the feet of my lord's servants" (I Sam. 25:41). We further think of the words of John the Baptist when he said, giving as lowly an example as he could, that he was not worthy even to stoop down and untie the thong of Jesus' sandals—a job of a personal slave who removes the shoes of his master and then washes his feet. Yet it is Jesus who says, "But I am among you as the one who serves" (Lk. 22:27).

We, somewhat like Peter, shrink from this. We are willing, to a degree, to be humble before God, but He humble before us?! Peter says (vs. 6), "Lord, do You wash my feet?" Jesus explains that Peter will later understand this action (vs. 7). In vs. 8,

> Peter's reaction is characteristically vigorous. He brushes aside Jesus' suggestion that something is going on whose significance he does not yet know. To him it is unthinkable that Jesus should ever engage in the menial activity of washing His servant's feet. . . . "Peter is humble enough to see the incongruity of Christ's action yet proud enough to dictate to his Master" (MacGregor).[13]

To Peter's reply of "never," Jesus says, "If I do not wash you, you have no part with me" (vs. 8), which surely refers to both this washing of his feet and that symbolized by it which is necessary to being a Christian, namely to be washed from sin by the blood of Christ (cf. I Jn. 1:7). Peter responds again (vs. 9), submitting feet, hands, and head.

> Now we have a characteristic Petrine touch. Convinced by Jesus' words, Peter will not do the thing by halves. Hands

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[11] For the general thrust of this passage see Leon Morris, ibid., pp. 610-23, and Note H, pp. 774-86.

[12] The translation "and during supper" of RV, ASV, RSV, and NASB is correct against the AV which has "and supper being ended" (the Greek *kai deipnou ginomenou* is literally "and supper taking place").

[13] Morris, *ad loc.*, p. 617.

and head must be washed as well as feet. Peter may not have meant the words to be taken literally, but as a wholehearted renunciation of his previous refusal to be washed at all. But we should not overlook the fact that the answer is still the product of self-will. Peter is reluctant to let Jesus do what He wants. He prefers to dictate the terms. There is also a misunderstanding of the meaning of the action. It is not a way of cleansing the disciples, but a symbol of that cleansing. It is not the area of skin that is washed that matters, but the acceptance of Jesus' lowly service.[14]

Then follows in vs. 10 one of the most important statements of Jesus for our discussion here. "Jesus said to him, 'He who has bathed needs only to wash his feet, but is completely clean; and you are clean, but not all of you.'" Jesus is countering Peter's request for a bath, and is asserting his need only to wash. When a man is going to a feast he will bathe his whole body, and when he arrives he needs only to wash part of his body, namely his feet, to be completey clean for the meal. The contrast between "he that is bathed" (ho leloumenos) and "to wash" (nipsasthai) means at least that much. But it is equally certain that Jesus is applying this imagery in a symbolic and spiritual sense, for He did not wash them on arrival, and further, Jesus washes, but is Himself at this time not washed by any (contrast Lk. 7:44 where Jesus says to Simon the Pharisee, ". . . you gave me no water for my feet . . ."), the reason being the sin-connection implied in vs. 8, "If I do not wash you, you have no part with me." Jesus had no sin from which to be symbolically washed. Peter and all the others did. But even they who have been thoroughly cleansed (bathed) by Christ and incur defilement in their daily walk (feet), do not need to be radically cleansed (radical renewal), but need only to wash or rinse their feet (daily cleansing from sin). So, therefore, at least in this instance by Christ, feet-washing and sin-washing are inextricably related, apart from whatever social benefits may or may not have been received (i.e. whether they had or had not already washed their own feet upon entering the upper room before dinner). Although not presently known to the disciples, both the crisis experience of regeneration (bathing) and the changing experience of sanctification (washing, rinsing) through the work and merits of Christ had been alluded to by Christ Himself. This they would later understand once His cleansing blood of expiation and consecration shed on Calvary's cross was applied in the outpourings of the Holy Spirit's power.

We may wonder if beyond feet-washing and sin-washing, Jesus was thirdly alluding to Christian baptism in His expression, "He that is bathed." Some, for example, would say, "But

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[14] Ibid., pp. 617-18.

apart from the fact that this appears to be reading something into the narrative, there is the further point that we have no evidence for thinking the apostles were baptized (unless with John's baptism)."[15] But just as they would have a future understanding of what Christ was doing, and just as the future work of the Spirit of Pentecost was being symbolized, so too future Christian baptism could be signified.[16] While such is by no means a necessary inference and surely not proven, John and all other Christians who would reflect on these words of our Lord would find it difficult to resist such a possibility. In any case, beyond the primary **feet-washing** and secondary **sin-washing**, a tertiary **baptism-bathing** is not germane to anyone's argument for either a voluntary or regular celebration of the of the Pedilavium-segment of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

The implications of Jesus' symbolic action are brought out by verses 12-20, with the command that we follow His example and wash one another's feet. Are these words of literal command, or words of moral essence (that is, are we rather commanded to imitate only the moral essence of loving and lowly service symbolized by Christ's washing of their feet)? In either case, the latter essence is always presupposed and true. And not only that, but if the former were also intended by Jesus, then He surely did not mean **mere** feet-washing, for more than an external action is enjoined, namely that we do it with a loving spirit or attitude toward others, analagous to Christ, our Exemplar (vss. 1, 15, 34). Further, it must be mixed with faith to be Christian. This is illustrated by the fact that although Jesus washed the feet of all twelve of His disciples (vss. 10-12, 18), including Judas Iscariot who had not yet left the room (vss. 21, 26-27, 30), only the faithless traitor remained "not clean" (vss. 10-11), and was excluded from the blessing of future performance (vss. 17-18). "And without faith it is impossible to please Him, for He who comes to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of those who seek Him" (Heb. 11:6).

The force of Jesus' feet-washing command in Jn. 13:

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[15] Ibid., pp. 618-19.

[16] The Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich Greek lexicon says that *louo* means to "wash, as a rule of the whole body, bathe" (p. 481b), and that *ho leloumenos* means "the one who has bathed (in contrast to the one who has his feet washed, and with allusion to the cleansing of the whole body in baptism)" (p. 482a). The cognate noun, *loutron*, means "bath, washing of baptism" (p. 481a), and is used in Eph. 5:26 and Tit. 3:5. A contrast is made in Lev. 15:11 between rinsing the hands (Hebrew *shataph,* LXX Greek *nipto*) and washing/bathing the body (Hebrew *rahats,* LXX Greek *louo*).

14-17 is fourfold: OBLIGATION-EXAMPLE-COMPARISON-BLESSING.[17]

> OBLIGATION. (14) If I then, the Lord and the Teacher, washed (*nipto*) your feet, you also *ought* (*opheilo*) to wash (*nipto*) one another's feet. EXAMPLE. (15) For I gave you an *example* (*hupodeigma*) that you also should do as (*kathos*) I did to you (*hina KATHOS ego epoiesa humin KAI humeis poiete*). COMPARISON. (16) Truly, truly, I say to you, a slave is not *greater* (*meizon*) than his master; neither one who is sent *greater* (*meizon*) than the one who sent him. BLESSING. (17) If you know these things, you are *blessed* (*makarios*) if you do them (*makarioi este ean poiete auta*).

The disciples are commanded to be ready and willing to perform the lowliest service in His name, and in whose honor nothing is below their dignity, including the washing of one another's feet, for we have His example in order that we might do as He has done (vs. 15). [18] And truly they did do this, for which we have one Biblical example. In I Tim. 5:10 it says that a widow on the list is proper if she, among other things, "has shown **hospitality to strangers**, if she has **washed (nipto) the saint's feet**, if she has assisted those in distress, and if she has devoted herself to every good work." In such a context of hospitality to strangers and works of mercy, it does appear that the voluntary social service of feet-washing is in view here, rather than the ceremony, but such lowly labor is still in obedience to His command and is an honor to her Lord.

So, it seems to us, that Jesus specifically stipulates that the action of washing one another's feet be among the lowly tasks of service to which He called His disciples and for which He set the foundational example. But we are by no means done. Three questions remain: (1) the sin-washing, (2) the ceremony, and (3) the social value. The answers to these questions are given below, but all are inconclusive.

The first of the remaining questions pertains to the sin-washing. Can it be shown that when the disciples obeyed the

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[17] Cf. Joseph R. Shultz, *The Soul of the Symbols: A Theological Study of Holy Communion* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1966), pp. 76-77.

[18] Contrast Morris who, in commenting on this "*as* I did . . . you *also* should do" (*kathos . . . kai*) of vs. 15, drives a wedge between "do *as* I have done" and "do *what* I have done," by saying: "*kathos . . .kai* shows how closely they are to follow the example given. At the same time we should notice that this is not identical with '*what* I have done'. It is the spirit and *not the action* which is to be imitated" (ibid., p. 621, n. 36; italics mine). His statement is remarkable in the light of the Semitic substratum of John's language whereby "do as . . ." means "do (according to) what . . ." (Hebrew *asa ke/al*, Aramaic *avad ke/al*). For Aramaic examples see Dan. 4:32 (English vs. 35), Ezra 4:22, 7:18 (cf. *avad kenema* "do thus," Ezra 6:13).

feet-washing command that it would carry for them the sin-washing connection and connotation which it had when Christ performed it? The answer is "no, not conclusively." There is no specific statement to this effect in John 13 (our only text). The connection in the case of Christ, as we have shown, is unmistakable. Christ's desire and need to ceremonialize His consecration that sorrowful night was very great indeed. This was the night before the cross—service to the uttermost. In washing the feet of His disciples He was engaging in the typology of His cross, a prophetic action dramatizing His willingness for ultimate service to His people, even sacrificial death, just as His prophetic spirit dramatized the typology of Pentecost when He breathed on them and said, "Receive the Holy Spirit" (Jn. 20:22). The word of the prophets (prophecy) is history pre-written, and the action of the prophets (typology) is history prefigured. Christ, God's Final Word, has deep passions for both. Christ further wanted to ceremonialize not only his own consecration, but the consecration of His disciples as under the blood and cleansed from sin. Jesus ceremonialized the power of His blood to cleanse from all sin, both for initiation into the kingdom of God and for continuing cleansing from daily defilement. As such their passive consecration is powerfully symbolized. "All of you," except Judas Iscariot, "are clean." But now for the crux of the matter as this writer sees it. Jesus Christ had ceremonialized His active and passive consecration to His Father by vicarious loving service and vicarious accursed death. He further ceremonialized the passive consecration of His own. But the **active** consecration of His disciples would only be **ceremonialized** as they, in the imitation of Christ, washed one another's feet. This is to say, while there is no explicit reference to a ceremonialized sin-washing in an **imitative** feet-washing ceremony, it is implied and needful, ceremonially need-ful. We as creatures in the image of God need to **ceremonialize** our active and passive obedience to God. The sublimation of the vicarious sacrificial corpse given by the offerer to the flames of God in repentance and faith in the Old Testament superbly expressed both. Jesus expressed both in His fulfilling yet typical washing of His disciples' feet, at once both a loving service of cleansing and a supreme resignation to the impending blood of His cross which cleanses from all sin. And so, to a believer who knows it and can receive it, both his active and passive consecra-tion are respectively ceremonialized in **his washing and being washed** during the Pedilavium. The daily cleansing by Jesus from daily sin is being ceremonially given and received in Jesus' name and merits. **The crux, in other words, is one of liturgical need—the need of a believer not only subjectively and individ-ually to work out his consecration to the Lord but also to ceremonialize it in corporate worship.** We are to be living sac-

rifices to God, aflame and ever pure. The need is antecedently Scriptural, being part of the very fiber and procedure of Old and New Testament ritual acts. Our need remains as great as Peter's, and we are both invited and enjoined to fill it.

While the expiation-consecration-celebration paradigm may find powerful ceremonial expression in the concepts of Eucharist-Pedilavium-Agape, the divine institution and consequent normativity of the Pedilavium (the **ceremonial** washing of feet) remains unproven, and must not be used to bind the conscience of the church. It should never be a compulsory or expected part of one's service at the Eucharistic feast of the church. While it cannot certainly be said to be normative worship, it is surely normal worship, for it is an intensely **appropriate** expression of the entire Bible's plan of redemption. And parenthetically, for those who either voluntarily-occasionally engage in this ritual or those who regularly celebrate it, a benefit beyond ceremonialized consecration is acquired. Just as the laver (Ex. 30: 17-21) was for the priest to wash his hands and feet in **preparation** for divine service at the altar, so the Pedilavium is preparation, symbolic cleansing preparatory to the Eucharistic service—cleansing the hands through washing the feet of another, cleansing the feet through being washed. By the water of cleansing and by the fire of devotion we go from purity to greater purity in the Spirit of holiness.

The second and third remaining questions flow logically from the first. The second question concerns the ceremony. If sin-washing is signified by our imitative feet-washing, did Jesus intend to institute for that generation the Christian ceremonial of the Pedilavium as an integral part of the Lord's Supper? As indicated above, we do not know for sure what His intentions here were, and therefore we may not require it. But in our judgment, the sin-connection along with the Biblical pattern of ceremonializing consecration make the answer, "possibly yes." The Lord could have intended his disciples to engage in the recurrent ritual of the ceremonial washing of feet. Such would be the fullest expression of sin-washing.

The third question concerns the social value: did Jesus expect the first century Palestinian ceremonial washing of feet to continue after it had lost its social value or social expressiveness? The action was always awkward; this is part of its design to teach us unquestioning service. However, in progressing from the dusty-road-and-sandal culture to the paved-road-and-shoe culture, the awkwardness is increased, and though spiritually beneficial, its social utility and expressiveness have clearly ceased. Is it the Lord's desire that this part of His Last Supper ordinance continue? Our answer, again, is guardedly, "yes." As was pointed out in the exegesis of John 13, during the **ceremony** of feet-washing the social aspect, though perhaps for a few

centuries present, was not the point of Jesus' service, and probably not of any imitative **ceremonies** either. Ceremonial feet-washing is ceremonial sin-washing. If anything, its increased awkwardness drives home more severely the concept of disinterested service. The Lord often calls us to do cheefully some unpleasant tasks, and such could be a part of a Biblical ceremony. We should do what is our duty to do, without complaint. We do not do the Pedilavium to be humble, for one cannot do humility. The purpose of the Pedilavium is service, and we are all servants, priests to God and men. No service is below our dignity. Pride, fear, apprehension or doubt may conceivably keep someone from the Pedilavium, but the Pedilavium does not instill humility, nor remove pride, fear, apprehension or doubt. It is a sad commentary on the disciples that they recoiled at Jesus' humility and lack of pride. They ought rather to have marvelled at His radical concept of service and self-giving love. Instead of thinking about which of them would be the greatest in the kingdom of God (Lk. 22:24-27; cf. 9:46-48, Mk. 9:33-37), they should have thought about being a servant of all, and about the Servant of the Lord in their midst. Whereas the Eucharist memorializes the atonement (expiation) of Christ, the Pedilavium memorializes the obedience and service (consecration) of Christ. The Pedilavium is not inspirational and one does not feel euphoria. One feels warmly human, like an obedient slave or priest in the image of Christ who is True Humanity. The blessing comes the day after when you think of what Christ and your brother have done for you, and what you, in Christ, have done for him and for Christ. I am my brother's keeper, because Jesus, the sin-bearer of Israel, is the Keeper of us both.

Again, it must be repeated, in my view the answer to these questions in inconclusive. We must take them to God and continue to search the Scriptures. The biggest problem is that, unlike the Agape and Eucharist in I Cor. 11, the Pedilavium is not mentioned, not directly at least (see I Tim. 5:10 above), outside the Gospel of John. We simply do not know the apostolic ceremonial practice, if any. This is the main reason why opinions vary, and must be respected. To those in fellowships which find this service meaningful there must be a searching of **Biblical** categories of meaning. That is why this study of Levitical sacrificial procedure and Christian liturgy has been developed. The author is seeking to authenticate by means of Scripture, and Scripture alone, an increasingly rich and theological experience in these areas being discussed.

It is possible, in fact likely, that some readers are saying that Christian **baptism** is fully adequate to symbolize all the washing we need, both initial (incorporation) and continuous (sanctification). To this we would respond two ways. First, though they may be right, a burning question remains. It was

Jesus who said, "He who has bathed needs only to wash his feet . . ." (Jn. 13:10). What is the relationship of the supposed total adequacy to this need mentioned by Jesus? This bathing could refer to baptism-bathing as well as to the obvious social and spiritual connotations (see the exegesis of Jn. 13 above), in which case something in addition liturgically is needful. Which leads to the second point, that the ordeal nature of the non-recurrent covenantal signs of circumcision and baptism stresses incorporation (bathing), whereas the waters of consecratory sanctification are more centrally expressed in the Pedilavium (washing). The Pedilavium was apparently designed by Jesus to be a public pledge of renewed devotion to Christ upon repentance and cleansing from sins committed after conversion, and perhaps still has this design. The purpose and liturgical load of each, Baptism and Pedilavium, appears to be beautifully and divinely suited for Christ's church.

A light concluding note on the Pedilavium can be given by tracing the interesting history of a word and idea based on Jn. 13:34, "A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another, even as I have loved you, that you also love one another." The opening phrase, "a new commandment," is rendered in the Latin Vulgate version, "novum mandatum." This word for "commandment" is not only the basis of our word for "mandate," but is the specific context for our word "maundy," as in Maundy Thursday ("Mandate Thursday"). According to The Random House Dictionary of the English Language, "maundy" is a noun meaning "the ceremony of washing the feet of the poor, esp. commemorating Jesus' washing of His disciples' feet on Maundy Thursday." It traces the English word "maundy" from Middle English maunde, from Old French mande, from the Latin of this verse mandat(um), meaning command, mandate. It can also refer to maundy money, "money distributed as alms in conjunction with the ceremony of maundy. . . ." This perhaps has its basis in Jn. 13:29 where the disciples thought that Jesus in His command to Judas Iscariot, "What you do, do quickly," might be saying "that he should give something to the poor." Alms were associated with the Passover, and in the Christian church have been associated with the Eucharist by means of a special offering, in the love-feast by feeding the poor (see I Cor. 11 below), and in the Pedilavium by the maundy alms just indicated. While alms in connection with any of these ceremonies would surely ceremonialize our consecration, it is extremely doubtful that the giving of alms, good, proper and required in themselves, is the ceremony Jesus specifically intended in Jn. 13, and in any case, such conjoined maundy money does not negate the maundy itself, nor the specificity of Jesus' maundy-mandate that they wash one another's feet. "Maundy Thursday," etymolo-

gically, is "Mandate-to-love-as-He-loved-by-washing-feet-as-He-washed-feet Thursday."

3. Celebration (Sharing-Meal): Agape

The New Testament ceremonial reflex to celebration is, most probably, the Agape, also known as the "love-feast," and, in the fuller sense, "the Lord's Supper." The direct Scriptural references to it outside the Last Supper of the four Gospels are I Cor. 11 and Jude 12, with possible references in II Pet. 2:13 (some MSS) and Acts 2:42, 46. The two explicit epistolary references to the love-feast, I Cor. 11 and Jude 12, are to correct abuses of an already existing practice.

In order to arrive at a definition of the Agape, what it signified, and how it was practiced, one must exegete these Scriptures, beginning with the Gospels and the most difficult question of all in this definition: was the Last Supper a **Passover** meal or some common meal with an uncommon significance? This places us squarely in the middle of a problem in Gospel chronology: which day was Passover in the week Jesus died? Was Passover that year on the very Friday of Jesus' crucifixion, the Last Supper being the night before Passover, or was it on Thursday, the day before Jesus' death, the Last Supper then being the **Paschal** meal? One of the most recent summaries of this discussion is again that of Leon Morris in an appendix to his commentary on the Gospel of John.[19] We will barely summarize his summary, giving just enough information on this difficult subject to provide a setting for the Last Supper, so as to quickly return to a definition of the Agape.

Morris begins with the obvious, namely that the Synoptic Gospels appear to record the Last Supper as a Passover meal, while John seems to indicate that Jesus was crucified on the same afternoon that the Passover victims were being slain, so that the Last Supper preceded the Passover. After giving the evidence for each of these two positions—a Maundy Thursday Passover (apparently the Synoptics) versus a Good Friday Passover (apparently the Fourth Gospel)—Morris, eliminating those who accept the trustworthiness of none of the four Gospels, and confining himself to views which allow for substantial historicity in one or more accounts, then lists five possible views for the date of the Passover in Holy Week.

> (1) The two accounts cannot be harmonized and John is to
> be preferred. (2) The two accounts cannot be harmonized
> and the Synoptists are to be preferred, (3) The Passover
> took place as in the Synoptists (i.e. the Last Supper was a

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[19] Ibid., pp. 774-86 ("Additional Note H: The Last Supper and the Passover").

Passover meal) and John is not really in contradiction. (4) The Passover took place as in John and the Synoptists are not really in contradiction. (5) There are calendrical differences so that the Synoptists follow one reckoning and John another.[20]

The first two views are modernistic. Most modern commentators prefer the first view. The third view is the preference of Lane (commentary on Mark) and Geldenhuys (commentary on Luke), just to name two conservative-evangelical works. The fourth view is held by people like Dom Gregory Dix, and by a number of the Brethren writers (who practice the love-feast). The fifth view is the preference of Strack and Billerbeck, and Morris himself. My own choice is primarily the fifth, which presently has the edge (i.e. that **both** Maundy Thursday and Good Friday were Passovers of different calendrical reckoning among rival Jewish groups and practices, such as represented at Qumran). My secondary choice, however, is the fourth (i.e. that Jesus died on Passover), with the **stipulation** that regardless of whether Maundy Thursday was or was not a rival Passover **day**, it was still nonetheless a Passover **meal** (as was indicated above in the exegesis of the Eucharist under "Expiation"). I personally see the origin of the love-feast in what Jesus did to His Last **Paschal** Supper, which clearly was an altered and Christian form of the Jewish Passover of the first century. This is to say that the Passover **meal** demanded by the Synoptics, be it a rival Passover day or an **anticipative** Passover meal (Jesus holding His own Passover a day early knowing that He was about to be killed), was far more than a specialized fellowship meal, such as either a fellowship **havura** or a Sabbath-eve **kiddush**. In fact, it was far more than a **Passover** meal, as will be developed.

Both a rival and an anticipative Passover would have to be altered in several details by law and by the innovations of Jesus. "If the temple authorities held one day to be the correct day and Jesus and His followers agreed with those who had the alternative view, then they would not be able to obtain a lamb and their celebration would necessarily differ from what might have been expected."[21] Such a lambless Passover might have been held anywhere outside Jerusalem too. Calendrical divergence might account for the Gospels not mentioning a lamb or Paschal dishes such as the bitter herbs, but such is arguing from silence. Jesus did several new things at His Last Paschal Supper. Instead of the **pater familias** (the father of the family) presiding over the Passover meal with his whole family (men, women and children), Jesus presided with just the Twelve,

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[20] Ibid., p. 777.
[21] Ibid., p. 785.

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terminating with only the faithful Eleven. He further astonished them by introducing the Pedilavium, and by identifying the bread and the penultimate cup of the Seder with His own impending sacrificial death.

At this point it is best to discuss briefly the sequence of the Passover Seder, for which Lane's discussion at Mk. 14:17 is adequate and up-to-date.[22] The family head (who presides) and the singing of the Hallel Psalms (113-18) are central to the ceremony. The head begins the ceremony by blessing the festival (the Passover Kiddush—sanctification of the day) and then blesses the wine. All partake of the first cup of wine. The food is then brought it, usually consisting of unleavened bread, bitter herbs, greens, stewed fruit, and roasted lamb. The question of the youngest son regarding the uniqueness of the night is then asked, followed by the head recalling the exodus story. All join in song by singing the first half of the Hallel (Psalms 113-15), after which comes the second cup of wine for all. The head then begins the meal proper by blessing and fracturing the bread. The bread is then eaten by all with the bitter herbs and stewed fruit. The main course of roasted lamb then takes place. The head then blesses the wine with a prayer of thanksgiving, which is followed by all drinking a third cup of wine. The last half of the Hallel (Psalms 116-18) is sung by the group, which then in consummation drinks the terminating fourth cup of wine.

It appears from our discussion within other headings above that the feet-washing could have taken place, with the subsequent identification of the traitor, during the meal. Toward the end of the main meal Jesus took additional bread and wine and gave the two words of institution. The second word of institution (wine of His blood) perhaps came at the end of the main meal at the point where the head would have blessed the wine and given thanks for the third cup. This third cup, the cup of redemption in the Passover, probably became the very cup of the Eucharist. Here, probably, Jesus said that He would not drink the (fourth) kingdom-cup of consummation until His return to finish the meal, which will be at the marriage feast of the Lamb. With the bitter third cup of His suffering willingly drunk, and the fourth cup of consummation temporarily refused, all that remained was to complete the Hallel. So after singing the hymn, they went out to the Mount of Olives (Mt. 26:30, Mk. 14:26).

On the significance of the cups Lane has an intriguing datum from the Jerusalem Talmud:

[22] William L. Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes,* New International Commentary on the New Testament, F. F. Bruce, gen. ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1974), pp. 501-2.

The cup from which Jesus abstained was the fourth, which ordinarily concluded the Passover fellowship. The significance of this can be appreciated from the fact that the four cups of wine were interpreted in terms of the four-fold promise of redemption set forth in Exod. 6:6-7: "I will bring you out . . . I will rid you of their bondage . . . I will redeem you , , . I will take you for my people and I will be your God" (TJ *Pesahim* X. 37b).[23]

The Lord's Paschal Supper is an unfinished meal, cut short by a bitter third cup of redemptive wrath which did not pass Jesus by. But we proclaim by such the Lord's death until He comes to complete and extend the feast in the kingdom of God (Mt. 26:29, Mk. 14:25, Lk. 22:18, 30; cf. Mt. 8:11, Lk. 14:15, Rev. 3:20, 19:6-9).

Returning now to a definition of the Agape, we can see that both the Pedilavium and the Eucharist occurred in the context of a Paschal meal, being a part, respectively, of its initial and terminal stages. The Scriptures already studied indicate that it was during the evening meal (Jn. 13:2) that Jesus washed their feet, from which meal He rose (vs. 4), and at which He later reclined again (vss. 12, 26). Jesus made His Pedilavium a part of the Last Passover Supper. Furthermore, the Eucharist was not a token meal after the Paschal meal, but was an integral part of it. He took the bread and the cup "while they were eating" (Mt. 26:26, Mk. 14:22), the cup of the Eucharist probably being the third cup of the Passover. Other Passover events then followed the Eucharist, namely the declaration of the significance (I Cor. 11:26) of and postponement of the fourth cup, followed by the singing of the terminal hymn regular to the Passover service. Our Lord's Last Supper was a Paschal service and meal which was being conducted by Christ before, during, and after the Pedilavium and Eucharist. This supper of love (Jn. 13:1, 34) when celebrated with the Eucharist, and possibly even with the Pedilavium (see above), is most likely what the New Testament calls "the love-feast" (Greek **he agape** "the love," Jude 12), and "the Lord's Supper" (Greek **kuriakon deipnon**, I Cor. 11:20; cf. Rev. 1:10 for a similar Greek expression). Again, in our judgment, most fundamental to a proper definition of the Agape is the fact that the Lord's Supper (the Agape, the love-feast) is what our Lord **did to** His Last Passover Supper the night before His Passover death. In **both** ceremonial meal and atoning death it is "Christ our Passover" (I Cor. 5:7-8).

It is needful at this point to ask what of significance are the precedents and successors to the Last Supper. This will improve and sharpen our basic definition of it as the Christian

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[23] Ibid., p. 508 (at Mk. 14:25).

ceremonial reflex to the Passover. As stated above in the Eucharist ("Expiation") discussion, what was affirmed about ceremonial meals as precedents to the Eucharist may be also affirmed here of the Lord's Supper, but with, again, a difference of emphasis, for **they are the body and consummating final ritual act of the same covenant meal.** The annual family Passover of Exodus 12, the covenant ratification meal of the elders in Exodus 24, and the peace-offering meal of laity and priests in the sacrificial system of Leviticus 7 as "sharers in the altar" (I Cor. 10:18), and possibly any covenantal fellowship meals, all find their fulfillment in the Lord's Supper and its consummating Eucharist. The body and final course of the Passover, as stated, find their liturgical expression in the Christian feasting and celebration of the Agape when accompanied by the climaxing and expiatory expression of the Eucharist.

Indeed, the Lord's Supper was more than a Passover. It was a covenant ratification meal with the elders of Christ's church (the Eleven), with Christ as Mediator of the New Covenant in His own blood, fulfilling the pattern (type) of Moses as mediator of the Old Covenant in the blood of peace offerings, dining in the presence of God with the elders of Israel (Ex. 24). Such would explain why Christ did not hold a **family** Passover meal, but only with His disciples as the ratifying body of elders in His new church. Jesus Himself alludes to Ex. 24, for when taking the words of Moses, "Behold the **blood of the covenant** which the Lord has made with you" (Ex. 24:8), Jesus Himself said in transforming fulfillment, "This is My **blood of the covenant** which is shed on behalf of many" (Mt. 26:28, Mk. 14:24), being in fact, "the new covenant in My blood" (Lk. 22:20, I Cor. 11:25). The Lord's Supper was at once the Messiah's final pre-glory Passover and the New Testament's only ratification meal.

But it was still more. It is the **recurrent** ritual meal celebrating the joy of Christian forgiveness and deliverance. For Christ commanded **future** observance and did not limit future observance to the Eleven when He said in His words of institution, "Do this in remembrance of Me" (Lk. 22:19, I Cor. 11:24), and the church so understood it as for all believers (I Cor. 11). The Christian Agape sustains the setting of covenant feasting, commemorating, as the sacrificial meals of Leviticus 7 (and Deut. 12, 14, 16), the celebration of forgiveness, and, as the Passover meals, the celebration of deliverance. The Lord's Supper is the New Testament ritual reflex to the themes of expiation, consecration, and celebration. The meal itself provides the context of celebration, in the train of Passover and sacrificial meal. This context is for the celebrative ceremonializing of the consecrating service and expiating death by which our Lord ratified the New Covenant, and by which we in covenant re-

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newal ceremony memorialize, sacramentalize and typify Him who is Himself "My servant, . . . a covenant to the people, . . . a light to the nations" (Isa. 42:1, 6).

The Eucharist, the crisis experience, memorializes the death and atonement of Christ. The Pedilavium, the changing experience, memorializes the obedience and service of Christ. The Agape meal, the sharing experience, memorializes the love and joy of Christ, a sharing joy, His joy given to us, unspeakable and full of glory. Agape love is simply His love, the sharing love. When we break bread together we are sharing this love and joy in covenant meal. The breaking of bread is both a covenant symbol and pledge of brotherly love. How painful the treachery of Judas must have been, initially at the meal of peace (Jn. 13:18, Psa. 41:9; cf. Psa. 23) and then with the garden kiss of peace, a veritable unholy kiss of death! Whereas the Eucharist emphasizes expiation and atonement, the Agape emphasizes **koinonia** (sharing and fellowship).

This, in turn, leads us to the successors of Christ's Last Paschal Supper, i.e. the references and practice of the Lord's Supper mentioned in the New Testament after the Gospels. The first reference may be in the Acts of the Apostles.

> And they were continually devoting themselves to the apostles' teaching and to fellowship, to the breaking of bread and to prayer. . . . And day by day continuing with one mind in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, they were taking their meals together with gladness and sincerity of heart (Acts 2:42, 46).

The key phrases here are "the breaking of bread" (vs. 42), "breaking bread from house to house," and "they were taking their meals together" (vs. 46). Bruce, in commenting on these verses, and quoting Otto, makes the following observations (italics mine).

> The "breaking of bread" here denotes something more than the ordinary partaking of food together: *the regular observance of the Lord's Supper is no doubt indicated*. While this observance appears to have *formed part of an ordinary meal,* the emphasis on the act of breaking the bread, "a circumstance wholly trivial in itself," suggests that this was "the significant element of the celebration. . . . But it could only be significant when it was a 'signum', viz. of Christ's being broken in death". . . . Day by day, then, in the weeks that followed the first Christian Pentecost, the believers met regularly in the temple precincts for public worship and public witness, while *they took their fellowship meals in each other's homes and "broke the bread"* in accordance with their Master's ordinance. . . . The community was organized along the lines of the voluntary type of association called a *haburah*, a central feature of which was the *communal meal*. The

communal meal could not conveniently be eaten in the temple precincts, so they ate "by households". . . .[24]

With these statements we are in agreement, but they have to be brought into focus. It is my view that the Eucharist, which was celebrated in the context of and as the climax to Christ's Last Passover Supper, was now, weeks after Passover and Pentecost, celebrated in the context of and as the climax to their **daily** Christian fellowship meals. All the evidence points toward the fact that the commonness of property, possessions and meals in Acts 2-7 (8:1-4 is the death of Stephen and the scattering of the church) was a temporary and very short-lived expedient to establish the church. After this, the Eucharist was celebrated in the context of and as the climax to an **occasional** fellowship meal, perhaps even weekly on the Lord's Day, known as the Lord's Supper or the Agape (love-feast; I Cor. 11, Jude 12). The **nature** of these meals subsequent to the feast of Passover was surely not Paschal, though their **significance** was, thanks to the crowning Eucharist. By the time Passover rolled around again it is possible that the meal on that day imitated some of the other Passover courses, but even this would-be seasonal Christian Seder is very doubtful due to the fresh break between the church and the temple persecutors. So the point here is not that the early Church's love-feast was a Passover with its traditional courses, but rather that it was a common fellowship meal with Paschal significance, of which Christ, our Passover, was the necessary Ingredient ceremonialized in the constitutive and institutional final ritual act.[25] But note, the common denominator is that the New Testament church celebrated the Eucharist in the context of and as the climax to a **meal,** be it **Paschal** (as initially with Jesus), **communal** (as subsequently with the early church), or **occasional** (finally, as at Corinth). This warrants us to say that the imitative Eucharistic meals were **ceremonial** meals (by virtue of the crowning Eucharist), which is to say they were common meals with an uncommon significance, non-Passover meals with the Paschal significance of Christ Himself. The Lord's Supper or love-feast is the Eucharistic fellowship meal of Jesus Christ, the Paschal Lamb of God, with His assembled church, who ceremonially celebrate His finished work and abiding presence.

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[24] F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Book of the Acts: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes,* New International Commentary on the New Testament, F. F. Bruce, gen. ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1954), p. 79 (at vs. 42) and p. 81 (at vs. 46).

[25] As a matter of fact it cannot be proven that the Eucharist was specifically *unleavened* bread and *red* wine. Morris, citing Higgins, says that "the Eastern church uses leavened bread at Holy Communion; so apparently did the Western church until about the eleventh century" (Morris, ibid., p. 775).

A final note on Acts 2 may be applied to the phrase "house to house." The early church met in homes, e.g. Philemon 2: ". . . and to Apphia our sister, and to Archippus our fellow-soldier, and to the church in your **house**." This setting would be very conducive to meals and washings, such as the ceremonial ones of the Agape and Pedilavium. Eating and washing require neither beautiful sanctuaries nor cultic instruments. Christians had no sacred buildings, altars, or sacrificing priests, and nothing usually associated with religion and public worship. It is common knowledge that their pagan neighbors called them "atheists," thinking that they had no god, at least not in the "proper" sense.

There is a clear reference to the continuance of the love-feast in Jude. In Jude the ungodly who have "crept in unnoticed" (vs. 4) are described in very severe language, especially in verse twelve.

> These men are those who are hidden reefs *in your love-feasts when they feast with you (en tais agapais humon . . . suneuochoumenoi)*, without fear, caring for themselves; clouds without water, carried along by winds; autumn trees without fruit, doubly dead, uprooted.

There is a very similar description of the unrighteous in II Pet. 2, especially verse 13, where there is a textual problem, however.

> They count it a pleasure to revel in the daytime. They are stains and blemishes, reveling *in their deceptions when they feast with you (en tais apatais auton suneuochoumenoi humin)*.

The variant text of II Pet. 2:13 has in the place of "deceptions" (**apatais**) the word "love-feasts" (**agapais**).[26] Both readings have a high degree of manuscript probability, although the reading "deceptions" (**apatais**) is more probable. In any case, the common denominator of Jude 12 and both readings of II Pet. 2:13 is the visible church gathered to **feast together** (**suneuochoumenoi**). What does it mean "to feast together" (from **suneuocheomai**)? Surely in Jude it is the love-feast we have been describing, and although not explicitly perhaps, Peter is surely describing the same thing.

Finally, the longest and most explicit New Testament reference to the Lord's Supper is that of the apostle Paul in I Cor. 11, specifically 11:17-34. We render the text in full here according to the New International Version of the New Testament (NIV), highlighting the phrases most pertinent to us for this discussion.

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[26] The reading "deceptions" (*apatais*) is supported mainly by the Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus (before correction) MSS, whereas the reading "love-feasts" (*agapais*) is supported mainly by the Vaticanus and Alexandrinus (after correction) MSS.

(17) In the following directives I have no praise for you, for your meetings do more harm than good. (18) In the first place, I hear that when you come together as a church, there are *divisions among you,* and to some extent I believe it. (19) No doubt there have to be differences among you to show which of you have God's approval. (20) *When you come together, it is not the Lord's Supper you eat, (21) for as you eat, each of you goes ahead without waiting for anybody else. One remains hungry, another gets drunk. (22) Don't you have homes to eat and drink in? Or do you despise the church of God and humiliate those who have nothing?* What shall I say to you? Shall I praise you for this? Certainly not!

(23) For I received from the Lord what I also passed on to you: The Lord Jesus, on the night he was betrayed, took bread, (24) and when he had given thanks, he broke it and said, "This is my body, which is for you; do this in remembrance of me." (25) In the same way, after supper he took the cup, saying, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood; do this, whenever you drink it, in remembrance of me." (26) For whenever you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes.

(27) Therefore, whoever eats the bread or drinks of the cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be guilty of sinning against the body and blood of the Lord. (28) A man ought to examine himself before he eats of the bread and drinks of the cup. (29) For anyone who eats and drinks without recognizing the body of the Lord eats and drinks judgment on himself. (30) That is why many among you are weak and sick, and a number of you have fallen asleep. (31) But if we judged ourselves, we would not come under judgment. (32) When we are judged by the Lord, we are being disciplined so that we will not be condemned with the world.

(33) So then, my brothers, *when you come together to eat, wait for each other. (34) If anyone is hungry, he should eat at home,* so that when you meet together it may not result in judgment.

And when I come I will give further directions.

Several things in this text are obvious. It is certain that a **full meal** was eaten by the Corinthian church in conjunction with the Eucharist, regardless of whether it was the full church-meal itself or the manner in which they ate it that Paul objected to. The full church-meal is certain, regardless of whether Paul was outright **prohibiting** it (thus leaving the Eucharist only), somewhat **limiting** it (leaving only a token meal followed by the crowning Eucharist), or merely **regulating** it (the rules being on the manner of observing the church-meal and its consummating Eucharist). In regard to this full church-meal, was Paul suggesting prohibition, limitation or just regula-

tion? The last option of regulation is easily, it seems to me, the most consistent understanding of the text. That the Eucharist was part of a full church-meal is obvious from notions in the text such as meals at home as opposed to those with the assembled church of God (vss. 22, 34), and such notions totally inappropriate to the small portions of the Eucharist as hunger (vss. 21, 34) and drunkenness (vs. 21). Further, the notion of the humiliation of those who have nothing (vs. 22) presupposes not exclusion from the Eucharist, but the poor who were not fed by the others who could afford to bring extra food for the love-feast.

The problem seems to center around consideration of others, the very heart of the love-feast. Such despite for the church of God (vs. 22) manifested itself by people coming in cliques, eating everything which they had brought for themselves, not sharing it with the poor who came with nothing (vs. 22). They were, further, contemptuous of other groups, not eating in unison or fellowship with them, but rather preferring to jump in rather than wait (vss. 21, 33). This kind of a potluck supper was unloving and unchristian. It was not the intended Lord's Supper (vs. 20). The intended Lord's Supper is one in which all eat and drink in remembrance of the Lord, who gave of Himself completely, both body and blood, and whose death they proclaim. But the Corinthian selfishness in the light of His selflessness was sin against the body and blood of the Lord and for which they were being chastened.

How did Paul deal with this? Paul points out the very close connection between the love-feast and the Eucharist, which is its constitutive final act. He calls this evening meal (deipnon) the "Lord's Supper" (kuriakon deipnon), which term is already familiar to the Corinthians and implies an existing institution, namely the Eucharistic evening meal that Jesus instituted with His disciples the night before His death, which it proclaims.

Was Paul now, due to abuse, prohibiting the traditional meal-part of the Eucharistic feast? After all, the Eucharistic part of our Lord's Supper does contain the moral essence of celebrative ingesting, the emphasis of the Agape, even though its own emphasis is expiation-death. Moreover, Jesus did not explicitly command anything but the Eucharist. Its meal-context, though theologically and traditionally a good inference, is not a necessary inference from His command. To our question of what did Jesus intend we add the question of what did Paul intend. Again our answer below is inconclusive.

It is the opinion of many, even many who do not hold to the normativity of the love-feast context of the Eucharist, that Paul is not forbidding a full-meal celebration of the Lord's Supper when he says, "Don't you have homes to eat and drink in? . . . If anyone is hungry, he should eat at home" (vss. 22,34).

It is the view of Grosheide, for example (among many other commentators), which takes the word "hungry" in vs. 34 to mean "only hungry" or "merely hungry" so as to fit the whole context. "If anybody is only hungry, i.e. if he attends the meetings of the congregation only to eat and to drink and not to enjoy the communion of the saints, let him eat at home."[27] And such really fits the context, for merely the Eucharist would not be sufficient to meet the physical need of the poor who have nothing at all, and further because Paul says "when you come together to eat, wait for each other" (vs. 33). This is so that all, poor too, might have access to the food, which can be eaten by all at the same time and shared equally—much like our smooth functioning potluck suppers of today. We would put it this way: for those who are bent on an anti-Eucharist supper at church, the apostle mandates an "ante-Eucharist supper before church. Mere physical hunger is not sufficient preparation to come to the Lord's table. Physical hunger does not disqualify, but only spiritual hunger qualifies. "But seek first His kingdom and His righteousness; and all these things shall be added to you" (Mt. 6:33).

There is, just barely, a middle option. It is possible that Paul is compromising between the two extremes of outright prohibition on the one hand and mere regulation on the other by requiring a token meal which would be sufficient in scope to sustain the theme of celebration, thus preparing the church for the solemnities of the Eucharist as the final ritual act. Such would somewhat relieve the burden of the church to provide abundance as well. The poor could eat all they want, while the others who had eaten their main evening meal at home, would partake of the token memorial at church in much the same fashion formally as the sacrificial offerings known as "memorial" or "token" in the Old Testament.[28] The established legal precedent here is obviously **pars pro toto**, the part for the whole. This, as has been already pointed out earlier in the study, is common in Scripture, whereby the part recalls the whole, as, for example, blood on the ear lobe, thumb, and large toe symbolizes the notion of being totally covered by the blood. But against such a supposed Pauline limitation of Corinthian practice is the point that such an anomaly would be a token followed by a token. There are only two consistent approaches. One takes the approach of this study, viewed as more consistent with Leviticus, the Gospels, Acts, Corinthians and Jude, that the

[27] F. W. Grosheide, *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians,* New International Commentary on the New Testament, F. F. Bruce, gen. ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1953), p. 277 (at 11:34).

[28] For examples, see the *azkara* ("token") portion offered by fire to the Lord (Lev. 2:2, 9, 16, 5:12, 6:8 (English 6:15), 24:7, Num. 5:26).

Eucharist is best viewed not as a token, but as the constitutive final ritual act of the Lord's Supper, and that such a full and celebrative Eucharistic meal was apostolic practice. The other approach reckons the constitutive Eucharist in moral essence to be a token of such a meal, and as such expresses all the features required by our Lord, whether or not the apostolic fellowship meal-context is imitated today. But the middle option of viewing both the Agape and the Eucharist as tokens would appear to be untheological with respect to covenant meals, and unexegetical with respect to First Corinthians. It is my thinking that only full covenant **feasting** completely expresses the traditional and intended setting for the Eucharistic elements. Such is consistent with the Corinthian evidence, with the Passover feasting of our Lord, and with all of the other Scriptures studied.

Here too, at the conclusion of the Agape, the caution must be given that, as in the case of the Pedilavium, normative (obligatory) observance of the Agape has not been proven. Unlike the Pedilavium, however, the evidence is more specific. We have apostolic practice and approval of the Agape portion of the Lord's Supper, though not explicit command. Such is not only **appropriate** worship, as in the case of the Pedilavium, but also **apostolic** worship, though perhaps not a specific command. While in our view restriction of the Lord's Supper to the Eucharist, so common today, is ritually somewhat unsatisfactory in that it makes the Eucharist bear too much of a liturgical load out of balance with its emphasis, such is nonetheless lawful, and representational, in a nuclear form at least, of all the sacrificial categories. The Agape must not be mandatory to Eucharistic celebration, and Eucharistic exclusivism must be tolerated and appreciated as fully compliant, at the very least, with the moral essence of New Testament teaching. The Agape, on the other hand, should not only be tolerated, but encouraged as the more Biblical expression of ritual categories and apostolic celebration.

Trine Communion not only enjoys the distinction of being an ultimate in liturgical-ceremonial expressiveness conformable to the law of God found in the book of Leviticus but also an ultimate in corporate obedience beyond command to Him, the Power of God and the Wisdom of God, who first performed and uniquely embodies its three ritual acts.

V. Practical Observations

Here are some practical observations which, though only ancillary to the above discusssion, may be helpful to groups which observe Trine Communion. Again, they are not offered as a critique of existing practices, but as a functional extension of my own thinking. These, it seems to me, flow from the premises demonstrated in this study, but some may in fact be merely

my own functional preferences. I have comparatively little practical experience in these things, and therefore hesitate to offer them. But I have, nonetheless, been encouraged to do so since variety already exists in current practice, and discussion does take place. These suggestions, it is hoped, will facilitate the discussion, not diminish it.

A. Sequence

This study has shown that Jesus washed His disciples feet **during** the evening meal (Jn. 13:2), from which He rose (vs. 4), and at which He later reclined again (vss. 12, 26).[29] The Eucharist, of course, followed. It would seem that the most appropriate sequence for celebrating Trine Communion would be A + P + E (Agape + Pedilavium + Eucharist), or A-P-A + E (i.e. the Pedilavium being celebrated **during** the Agape, small groups going and coming in succession). The former praxis (A + P + E) creates less motion and distraction, and allows the stewards in attendance over the Pedilavium to participate fully in the Agape. Both have the ceremonial advantage of conducting both the Pedilavium and Eucharist in a context of feasting and celebration important to both the Old Testament Passover and New Testament Agape. Such festivity not only heightens the climactic solemnities of the Eucharist, but in a very natural and friendly way provides a "warming-up" process which establishes an easing social base for the intimacy of the Pedilavium. And most obviously, both forms of initial Agape permit hot covered dishes to be eaten while they are still warm. The sequence P + A + E, however, with initial Pedilavium, does not have that social and ceremonial advantage, and is least imitative of the account in John's Gospel. This P + A + E sequence does, however, like A + P + E, solve the problem of steward absence, and clearly provides the feast-context for the Eucharist itself. It unfor-

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[29] Jesus washed the feet of all twelve of His disciples (vss. 10-12, 18), including Judas Iscariot who had not yet left the room (vss. 21, 26-27, 30). As a matter of fact, it appears that the traitor also partook of the Eucharistic bread and cup, since according to Lk. 22:20-21 it was just after the words of institution that Jesus said, "But behold, the hand of the one betraying Me is with Me on the table" (vs. 22). Jn. 13:30 is not really in contradiction with this which says of Judas, "And so after receiving the morsel he went out *immediately* (*euthus*); and it was night." Dipping the morsel was earlier in the Seder than the terminal Eucharist. But the word "immediately" (*euthus*) need not be translated so. This temporal adverb can definitely have an inferential use, meaning "then" (e.g. Mk. 1:21, 23; see the Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich *Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 321b). After the morsel, he then went out (John omits the Eucharist facts which intervened; in fact, John omits the words of institution entirely). It appears that the traitor left very soon after the Eucharist, but before the Farewell Discourses of Jn. 14-17 (cf. 18:1-3).

tunately is usually limited to a token evening meal, such as sandwiches and fruit, without hot food. This token is often provided by the institution and thus for some celebrants has less consecration symbolism, since in the potluck situation celebrants bring their dishes for others to enjoy in mutual gift and sharing.

Before leaving the subject of sequence, a word of clarification might be in order. The reason this study discussed the New Testament rituals in the sequence Eucharist + Pedilavium + Agape (rather than A + P + E) was that such a sequence merely followed the sacrificial categories of the book of Leviticus, namely expiation + consecration + celebration. As to the question why did Jesus, in divine wisdom, invert the logical and ceremonial order of expiation + consecration + celebration to become celebration + consecration + expiation (i.e. the expected *E + P + A in fact becoming A + P + E), one can only guess. His Passover being lambless on Maundy Thursday as either an anticipative or rival Passover (the temple lamb being slain on Good Friday while He was being crucified), gave Him the opportunity to dramatically declare to His disciples that He Himself is the Lamb of God. It is lawful to guess, even further, as to why Jesus disclosed this at the end of the Passover meal. Perhaps He wanted to specifically utilize the symbolism of the (third) redemption cup, and consciously postpone the fourth cup of kingdom consummation. Finally, such a sequence (A + P + E) not only climactically declares that expiation-redemption has finally come for the salvation of the world, but obversely also changes the tone and setting of Old Testament covenant meal to the New Testament rejoicing evermore. In other words, just as the curse-emphasis of circumcision (excision or cleansing) became the blessing-emphasis (bathing or drowning) of baptism, so the terminal celebration of Old Covenant meal became the initial celebration of New Covenant meal. The jubilee has come, the acceptable year of the Lord when all the captives are set free. Today is the day of salvation. All ritual acts of the New Covenant are in a setting and tone of joy unspeakable and full of glory. This new emphasis of abundant joy in life and ceremony is due to the wonderful fact that the long-awaited Messiah has indeed come. "And the angel said to them, 'Do not be afraid; for behold, I bring you good news of great joy which shall be for all people; for today in the city of David there has been born for you a Savior who is Messiah-Lord (Christos-Kurios)' " (Lk. 2:10, 11). As His guests we take our meals together with gladness (Acts 2:46).

B. Manner

It is my personal belief that Trine Communion is more expressive, fulfilling and worshipful when each of the following

items occurs in **abundance:** food, singing, and conversation. The food presents a marvelous opportunity for variety, and changes should be made often in the nature of the meal. Some occasions, perhaps seasonal, could be designed to be imitative of either regular Passover courses or creative Chavurah stages (such as the dipping of bread in broth) punctuated with the Law, the Psalter and spontaneous singing. Other occasions, conversely, could be of marked simplicity and convenience, closer to a lunch than a dinner. The mean, it would seem, could be the festive potluck, whose main feature is the sheer goodness and variety of so many homemade dishes, a quasi-smorgasbord of coordinated tender loving care. Just as the Passover enjoyed interspersed psalms of praise, so can one who presides lead several brief and intermittent songs fully familiar to the group. It helps too for the one who presides to encourage the group, perhaps at the opening prayer of thanksgiving, to speak to one another about the things of the Lord, including anything that will edify the body in the faith. In a word, the key, even unique opportunity, as I see it, is variety. The Lord has given us an instrument that is fully capable of such. The common denominator is that these are all Eucharistic meals, culminating in memorialized body and blood.

Abundance also implies frequency. It seems to me that it would be a **greater good** for us to celebrate Eucharistic meals much more frequently than it would be to observe the Pedilavium on each occasion. It seems totally illogical to me personally to believe that the ceremonial washing of feet took place at every instance (or even the majority of times) of those many Eucharistic meals mentioned in Acts and Corinthians. Rigidity at this point, in any case, clearly causes Trine-Communion groups to have infrequent Holy Communion (2, 3, or at most 4 times annually), due to its length and involved richness. The same would be true, to a lesser degree, of always having the Eucharist in the context of a meal. The difference is a couple of minutes or more as oposed to a couple of hours or less. It probably was just this convenience that caused the early church to move in the direction of exclusive Eucharistic celebration, rather than a rejection of the meal-idea. Rigidity will not sell the meal-idea, but variety will definitely heighten the fuller expressions of meal, and of feet-washing. Considering the greatest good of the Eucharist (granted by all), and the total worth of perpetuating the full expression of Trine Communion (herein defended), and considering the points made about variety and liturgical creativity, this writer, to state just one man's preferences, would like to see pastors set the goal, if only experimentally, of having the Eucharist twelve times a year (monthly), four of which are to be Eucharistic meals (quarterly), and two of which are to be full Trine Communion services (biannually).

Most would prefer that one of these Trine Communion services be held sometime during the Lenten season. Due to the complexity of modern work and scheduling, with the necessity of meeting the greatest number of needs and circumstances of work and worship, variety in times of Eucharistic worship seems preferable, but Eucharistic meals in the evening and mere Eucharistic elements in the morning would be common. Such should enable all to come to the Lord's table with increased frequency.

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Introduction to the Current Issue

"Communicating the Gospel God's Way" is the focus of the issue of the **Ashland Theological Bulletin** for 1979. The creative material by Charles H. Kraft appearing here was presented as the Workman Lectures at Ashland Theological Seminary, November 20 through 22, 1978. Dr. Kraft, who combines specializations in anthropology and linguistics, applies his rich resources to process and impact in communicating. These chapters, perceptive with insight and profound with understanding, offer both guidance and challenge to people for whom effective communication is important.

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CHAPTER I

GOD'S MODEL FOR COMMUNICATION

A S ONE who specializes in communication and Bible translation I am increasingly fascinated by the communicational dimensions of the Word of God. I am, of course convinced that God knew what He was doing communicationally. I am, however, surprised that it has taken us so long to look at the Bible from this point of view. For generations, we who seek to communicate God's Word have looked to the Bible for our **message**. I am afraid, though, that we have seldom looked to the Bible for our **method**. I have become personally convinced that the inspiration of the Bible extends both to message and to method. My aim in this chapter, therefore, is to elucidate a scriptural method for getting God's message across that I dare to call "God's Model for Communication."

Though I will be talking about what I believe to be a method of approach that we see from cover to cover in the Bible, it might be helpful, by way of introduction, for me to point to a couple of scripture verses which, if translated from a communicational point of view, lend support to the point I am trying to make. Look, for example, at Mark 16:15. It is, I think, allowable to translate this verse: "Go into all the world to communicate the Good News to all peoples." The word "preach" that is ordinarily used in English translations of this verse is only one way of communicating. Indeed it is a form of communication that Jesus used very seldom. I will deal more with this point in Chapter 4. Suffice it to say here that we are commanded by God not simply to monologue his Word but to communicate it as effectively as possible. A second illustrative verse is John 1:14. In this verse the Greek word **logos**, ordinarily translated "word" is employed. I believe it would not be doing the verse an injustice to suggest the following translation: "the (meaning God's) message became a human being to live among us." I will be alluding to other passages of Scripture as I go along but I wanted to point briefly to these verses at the beginning of my

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presentation to alert us to the fact that, in the first place, God is concerned about communication and that, in the second place, God's ultimate method of communication is via incarnation.

Now the problem I want to raise is: How can we follow God's example in our efforts to communicate his Good News? God has, of course, communicated very effectively. He has, furthermore, involved us in the contemporary phase of His communicatonal efforts. How then can we learn to involve ourselves in His work in His way? We do not believe that God simply overrules our humanity to make us into communicational robots. We believe that He leads us as we participate with Him in such activities. We believe also that we need to do our best to learn how He wants us to conduct ourselves so that we may be of greater service to Him. We may, therefore, analyze God's communicational activities as portrayed for us in the Scriptures in order to learn how He goes about His work so that we will know better how to go about our work for Him.

Another way of putting this is to use a term that is increasingly coming into prominence in Bible translation theory. This term is "dynamic equivalence." Our aim communicationally is to perform in a way this is dynamically equivalent to God's communicational activity as portrayed in the Scripture. A dynamic equivalence Bible translation is a translation that has the kind of communicational impact on today's hearers that the original Scriptures had on the original hearers. Such translations as Phillips, Good News for Modern Man, and Living Bible have often had such an impact in contemporary English. If you can imagine yourself communicating the messages that God gives you as effectively as these translations communicate the Scriptural message, you will have a glimpse at least of what I am talking about as the goal of Christian communication.

Preliminary Observations Concerning God and His Communicative Activity

The first thing I would like to deal with in this regard is to suggest six preliminary observations concerning God's communication. I believe that these observations apply to all of Scripture. I also believe that if we seek to be Scriptural in our communicative activity, we will seek to imitate God in each of these areas.

In the first place, I would like to suggest that God seeks to communicate, not simply to impress people, You have all had the experience of sitting in church and hearing a soloist or an organist or even a preacher show off in front of you. You may

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have expected that they were going to communicate some message to you but, as they got into their performances, you began to realize that they were seeking only to **impress** you. They were of course communicating something, but that communication had more to do with their own ability than with anything they were talking, singing, or playing about. They seemed to be more interested in impressing people than in communicating with people. One basic principle of communication that is involved in such a situation is that when a vehicle of communication calls attention to itself, the message is lost. If, therefore, in a situation such as the preaching, singing, or organ playing situation, we become more aware of the performer's ability to perform than of the message he is seeking to get across, then the situation becomes a performance rather than a communication.

What I'm suggesting is that God **communicates** not simply performs. Throughout the Bible He uses language that does not call attention to itself. He uses people who do not call attention to themselves. In fact, when, as in the case of Saul these people begin to call attention to themselves, they become unfit for God's service. Likewise with respect to Bible translation, where the beauty of the language calls such attention to itself that it obscures the message. The Scriptures in the original languages are fairly unimpressive from a literary point of view. Jesus, when He walked the earth was also, apparently, fairly unimpressive personally. But His message had great impact.

Secondly, God wants to be **understood** not simply admired. God, of course, is impressive. He is, of course, to be admired. But there is a sense in which if we focus on merely admiring God, His ultimate purpose in interacting with human beings is thwarted. Some would seem to give the impression that God has an enormous ego that demands that people sit around admiring Him at all times. This seems to be the way in which many define worship. Without denying the value for us of contemplating God's greatness and of worshipping Him, however, I would like to suggest that His greater desire is that we understand and obey Him. Though not infrequently what God says and does is difficult for us to understand, God's ultimate purpose

> is not "to mystify the truth" but to reveal it, not to hide verities
> behind historical accounts, but to face man with the truth in any
> and all literary forms which they can understand (Nida 1960:223).

As pointed out above it is in order to be understood that God used human language. It is to be understood that He took

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on human shape, both in the incarnation and in the Old Testament theophanies (e.g., Genesis 18, Daniel 3:25). It is to be understood that God used dreams to reach those who believed in dreams and parables to reach those who had become accustomed to being taught through parables. On occasion God communicates through a spectacle (e.g. I Kings 19:11 & 12). But the spectacle is not an end in itself, it is merely the means to the end of effective communication that God employs in order to be understood. Likewise with miracles. John points to this fact by constantly labeling Jesus' miracles "signs." They are intended to point beyond themselves, to communicate something, so that God's message can be understood. This is why Jesus ran from those who were only interested in the spectacle for its own sake, but spent countless hours with those who got at least part of the message. He sought to be understood, and responded to those who responded to what he was seeking to communicate.

In the third place, let us note that God seeks **response** from his hearers not simply passive listening. This is a corollary to God's desire to communicate and to be understood. Communication implies response. When God commands people he expects them to respond. God's promises to people typically require a response on their part. Proper response in turn, elicits further interaction between God and human beings. Indeed, God's interactions with human beings are characteristically in the form of dialog, rather than monolog. The Bible, from beginning to end, represents God as seeking conversation with people. And such conversation demands responsiveness on the part of human beings. We are not simply to sit like bumps on logs listening to God without responding to him. To quote Nida again

> The entire concept of the covenant of God with man is predicated upon two way communication, even though it is God who proposes and man who accepts. Of course, in Jesus Christ the "dialogue" of God with man is evident in all of its fullness, but the divine human conversation is eternal, for the end of man is for fellowship and communion with God himself, and for this the communication of "dialogue" is an indispensible and focal element (1960:225).

A fourth preliminary point is the suggestion that God has revealed in the scripture not only **what** to communicate, but **how** to communicate it. I will not seek to elaborate this point at this time. I simply want to make the point explicit and to suggest that if what I have said above and what I will say below is true, this point is established.

My fifth preliminary point is to suggest that God is **receptor oriented.** In the communication process we have three basic

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elements: the communicator, the message and the receptor. The communicator, as he engages in the process of communication, may have his attention focused on any of the three elements. That is, he may focus so intently on himself and what he is doing in the situation that he is virtually unaware of exactly what he is saying or of who he is attempting to say it to. Or he may be so focused in on what he is saying that he virtually forgets both himself and his receptors. Or, in the third place, he may so focus on his receptors, their concerns and the value of what he is saying to them, that his concern for himself and those aspects of the message that are not relevant to his hearers is diminished. This latter is what I mean by the term receptor oriented. Each of these approaches involves all three elements. They differ only with respect to which of the elements is in primary focus.

The communicator whose primary focus is himself tends to show off. One who seeks to impress people with his own abilities in order that they will admire him tends to fall into this trap. It may matter little to him whether people understand what he says or if they benefit from it. His concern is to be admired. The communicator who is message centered, on the other hand, gives great attention to the way the message is phrased. His concern is for precise terminology and correct wording on the one hand, and for and elegantly constructed, well balanced presentation of the message on the other. Again, the concern is less for whether the receptors understand the message than for the presumed accuracy of the formulation of that message. His tendency will be to resort to technically precise language, whether or not such language is intelligible to his listeners, and to homiletically perfect organization, whether or not his listeners are most attracted to that kind of a message. A receptor oriented communicator, on the other hand, is careful to bend every effort to meet his receptors where they are. He will choose topics that relate directly to the felt needs of the receptors, he will choose methods of presentation that are appealing to them, he will use language that is maximally intelligible to them.

What I am suggesting is that God's communication shows that he is squarely in the latter position. He is primarily oriented toward getting his message into the minds and hearts of his receptors. That is, the methods chosen, the language employed, the topics dealt with, the places and times where he encounters human beings and all other factors indicate that God is receptor oriented. He does not, of course, always say what people like to hear. That is not required of one who is receptor oriented. The point is that whatever he says, whether it is pleasant or unpleas-

ant, is presented in ways and via techniques that have maximum relevance to the receptors. They do not have to go somewhere else, learn someone else's language, or become something other than they already are as a precondition to hearing his message. The message itself, of course, may require that they go somewhere else or become something else, but they are not required to make these adjustments before they can understand what God is saying to them. I will elaborate further on this point below.

In the sixth place, I'd like to suggest that God's basic method of communication is incarnational. Though the ultimate incarnation of God's communication was in Jesus Christ, God's method of using human beings to reach other human beings is also an incarnational method. In a real sense, everyone who is transformed by the power of God and genuinely lives his witness to Christ is an incarnation of God's message to human beings. It is not, I think, without significance that the early Christians at Antioch were called "little Christs," "Christians." God's witnesses are called by Paul "letters that have come from Christ," (II Corinthians 3:3). This is incarnational communication. And even the Bible, since it consists almost entirely of case studies of such incarnations of God's communications, may be seen as an incarnational document.

God's Approach: A Model for Us to Imitate

I would now like to turn to ten characteristics of God's communication. In doing this I have in mind three primary aims: to describe at least certain of the characteristics of God's communicational activity, to point out how well these correspond with the insights of modern communication theory, and to suggest that each characteristic is something that we ought to imitate in our attempts to communicate on God's behalf. I make no apology for the fact that these characteristics frequently take us into territory already covered in the above list of preliminary observations. Those broader observations and these narrower characteristics are, after all, simply alternative ways of viewing the same territory.

1. The first characteristic to note is that God communicates with impact. Impact is that which makes an impression, that gets people up doing things in response to what has been communicated to them. To get an idea of the kind of impact that God's communication had on people, we might simply ask ourselves what it would take to get us to do some of the things that

the people of Scripture did. What would it take to stimulate Abraham to leave home, country, family and all that was familiar to him? What was it that impelled Moses to stand up against Pharoah? What transformed the prophets, or the disciples, or Paul? The Holy Spirit was involved to be sure. But they were human beings who responded to communicational stimuli just like we do. So our questions concern not whether or not the Holy Spirit was involved, but what kind of response they as human beings had to the communicational techniques that God employed with them. The point is that they received God's communication with the kind of impact that impelled them to things that the world might regard as strange.

Now, we have learned to think of communication as largely a matter of the tranfer of information from communicator to receptor. We set up schools, we write books and articles, we preach sermons, in order to buy and sell information. When we go to school, read books or go to church, we are rather like the Athenians about whom it is recorded that they were primarily concerned with "talking or hearing about the latest novelty" (Acts 17:21). If we hear a lecture or a sermon or read a book that disappoints us we very often express our criticism by saying, "I didn't learn anything new." But the primary aim of God's communication, and hopefully of ours, is not simply to inform. It is to **stimulate** people to action. And when, via sermonizing, God's message is reduced to mere information about God rather than the passing on of stimulus from God, I wonder if we have not thwarted His purpose to some extent? The God who, through communicational channels, has had such an impact on our lives that we are in the process of transformation, desires that we communicate for him with a similar kind of impact. The characteristics by means of which He brings about that impact are delineated in the next nine points.

2. To create communicational impact, God takes the initiative. God does not simply sit there unconcerned. When Adam and Eve got into difficulty, God took the initiative and went to where they were to initiate the communication that would enable them to at least know how to get out of their situation. When he decided to destroy mankind, God initiated communication with Noah. Likewise with Abraham, Moses, and with person after person throughout Scripture. In Christ, God took the initiative that resulted both in His most significant communication and in salvation for humanity. We learn, therefore, that as communicators from God, the initiative lies with us.

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3. When God seeks to communicate He moves into the receptor's frame of reference. I use the term "frame of reference" to designate the combination of things such as culture, language, space, time, etc., that make up the matrix within which the receptor operates. Each person operates within several frames of reference simultaneously. At one level, every person is in his own frame of reference defined by those psychological, physiological and life history characteristics that make him uniquely different from every other individual in the world. At another level, however, each person shares with many other people a language, a culture, a geographical area, a time frame, and many other similar characteristics. If, therefore, a communicator is to be understood by his hearers, he will have to start by employing such definers of broader frames of reference as the same language, similar thought patterns, and the like and proceed to demonstrate a concern for the characteristics that define narrower frames of reference such as the personal interests and needs of the receptor.

Not infrequently, especially when the communicator has some power over the receptors, the communicator will designate his own frame of reference as that within which the communication must take place. He may, for example, use a technical type of language that he understands well but that loses his receptors. Professors and preachers often do just this when they use the jargon and thought patterns of the academic discipline that they have studied when talking to people who are not normally a part of that frame of reference. Those who train for the ministry by going to seminary often get into the language and thought patterns of the seminary to such an extent that it may never occur to them that what they have learned needs translation into the language and thought patterns of their receptors if it is to have the desired impact on them. Many preachers, in fact, spend a large part of their ministries preaching to their homiletics professors. They have not learned that they need to use a different style to reach the people in their pews, so they simply continue to speak within the frame of reference that they learned to use in seminary.

God, however, is not like that. He uses the language and thought patterns of those to whom He speaks. He could have constructed a heavenly language and required that we all learn that language in order to hear what he has to say to us. He has the power to do that. But He uses that power to adapt to us, to enter our frame of reference, rather than to extract us from our

frame of reference into something that He has constructed. He has, apparently, no holy language, no holy culture, no sacred set of cultural and linguistic patterns that He endorses to the exclusion of all other patterns. He moves into the cultural and linguistic water in which we are immersed in order to make contact with us.

4. God's communication has great impact, furthermore, because it is personal. Unlike modern Americans, God refuses to mechanize communication. If He had asked our advice concerning how to win the world, we might well have suggested that He use microphones and loud speakers. Or, perhaps, we would have suggested that He write a book, or at least go on a lecture tour where He would be able to monolog with thousands of people at a time. But the God who could have done it any way He wanted turned away from such mass impersonal techniques to use human beings to reach each other human beings and, ultimately, to become a human being himself. And as a human being He spent time with a small number of other human beings, running away from crowds in order to maximize the person to person nature of his interaction with that handful of disciples. We have much to learn from God's method at this point.

5. God's communication, then, is interactional. Note in your own experience the difference of impact between an impersonal, mass communication type of situation and a person to person interactional type of situation. I'm really impressed with how little Jesus monologed. And our misunderstanding of his communication that leads us to recommend monolog preaching as if this were God's method disturbs me greatly. In the name of Jesus Christ who seldom monologued we recommend monolog preaching as the appropriate method of communication! It seems to me utterly inexcusable for our Bible translators to reduce the nearly thirty Greek words used in the New Testament for communication to two words in English: preach and proclaim. But this is what has been done in most of our English translations. If one term is to be used in English, that term should be "communicate", not preach or proclaim, both of which signify monolog presentation. I am afraid we have not imitated Jesus in church communication nearly so much as we have imitated the Greek love for oratory. Jesus seldom, if ever, monologued. He interacted. I will say more about this in chapter 4.

6. A further characteristic of effective communication that God employs is that He goes beyond the predictable and the stereotype in his communicative efforts. It seems that in all

interaction, including communication, people either have or develop well defined expectations concerning other people. These expectations are defined in terms of such things as role relationships, age differences, linguistic and cultural factors and the like. On the basis of our previous experience with people in such categories, then, we develop stereotypes in terms of which we predict what is likely to happen when we interact with people who fit into a given category. When our prediction comes true—that is, when the person acts according to our expectations—the communicational impact of whatever that person says or does is very low. If, on the other hand, that person acts or speaks in a way that is unexpected in terms of the stereotype, the communicational impact is much greater. The principle may be stated as follows: if within a given frame of reference the information communicated is predictable, the impact of the communication will be low. If, however, within that frame of reference the information communicated is unpredictable, the impact of the communication will be high.

That's why, in Phillipians 2:5-8, we see Jesus going through a two-step process. He could easily have become man, and, as man, simply announced that he was God. But reading between the lines of the passage, we see that as a human being he refused to demand the respect that he had a right to demand. He refused to use his title. Nobody was going to call him Reverend or Doctor. They did eventually call him Rabbi, but they learned to call him Rabbi on the basis of what he **earned**, rather than on the basis of what he demanded. And I think this is a critical difference. Jesus established his credibility, earned his respect, by what he did **within** the receptors' frame of reference. He called himself man (i.e., Son of man) until they recognized him as God. And even when the disciples recognized that he was God, he forbad them to use that title for him. I believe he did not want others to use a title that he had not earned in interaction with them anymore than he wanted the disciples to. People have, of course, well defined stereotypes of God. If, for example, he had remained in his predictable glory or even, as a man, associated predictably with the powerful, the elite, the religiously safe people, the impact of what he sought to communicate would have been comparatively small. But he went beyond the predictable stereotypes at point after point and thereby increased enormously the impact of his communication. He went beyond the predictable to become a human being, and then even as a human being went beyond the predictable to become a commoner, and then as a commoner chose to associate with tax collectors and

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prostitutes, to go to such places as a raucous wedding feast and even to submit to a criminal's death.

As human beings, we too are boxed into stereotypes by those who interact with us. We are stereotyped according to our age group, whatever titles we possess, the kinds of people we associate with, the kinds of places we go to, etc. If we have a title such as Reverend or Doctor, if we fit into a category such as student or teacher, if we are male or if we are female, people will relate to us according to their expectations of the category by means of which they label us. And it is unlikely that they will pay much attention to the messages that we seek to communicate as long as those messages are according to their expectations from a person in our category. If, for example, we are known to them as Christians," and we say the kinds of things that they expect Christians to say, they may discount most or all of what we say. The impact of the communication will, however, be quite different if they find that we care for them more than they expect Christians to care for them or if we relate to them in a more genuine manner than they expect.

7. God's communication, then, goes beyond generalities to become very specific to real life. And such specificity increases the impact of these messages. Many general messages are, of course, quite true. The general message, "God is love," for example, is unquestionably true. But his love put in the form of such a general statement has very little communicational impact. His love put in the form of a specific Christian individual, ministering to the specific needs of someone in need, however, has great impact. Even in language, the difference in impact between the statement, "God loves everyone," and, "God loves me," is great. Note in this regard the great difference in impact between the statement of a major point in a sermon and a well chosen illustration of that point that applies it to the real life situation of the hearers.

Jesus frequently used true to life stories that we call parables to specifically relate his teachings to the lives of his hearers. When someone asked him, "who is my neighbor?", he employed the parable of the Good Samaritan to make his teaching specific. When he sought to communicate truth concerning God as a loving father, he told the story we know as the parable of the Prodigal Son. He continually taught his disciples by dealing specifically with the life in which they were involved. He taught us all by ministering specifically to the needs of those around him. And the Bible that records these events is charac-

terized by the specific life relatedness of a casebook. If God had communicated in our way, he might have written a theology textbook. Textbooks are noted for the large number of general and technical statements that they make concerning their subject matter. A casebook, however, is characterized by the kind of specificity to real life that the Bible is full of. The Biblical accounts concern specific people in specific times and places with specific needs that are dealt with by means of specific inter-actions with God. God, in his communication, goes beyond the general to the specific. So should we.

8. God's communication invites personal discovery: The most impactful kind of learning is that that comes to us via discovery. In our western educational procedures, however, we seem to go largely against this principle. As a teacher, I'm supposed to predigest the material that I want to communicate to you and to simply dish it out for you in a form that requires little effort on your part. In school, we get predigested lectures followed by testing techniques designed to force you to get that material first into our notebooks, then from our notes into our heads. Our churches have been patterned after the lecture procedures of our classroom except that in church we give no exams. This means that church communication is largely ineffec-tive, since it imitates the predigestion method of the schools but does not include the testing technique that is counted on to at least partially compensate for the lack of discovery involved in this kind of communication.

Note, for example, the difference between your ability to remember those things that someone simply tells you and your ability to remember those things that you discover on your own. Jesus specialized not in predigesting information in order to present it to his hearers in bite size chunks, but in leading his hearers to discovery. This is why his answers were so often in form of questions. This is also why his hearers often found him to be difficult. When John the Baptist was in prison and sent his disciples to Jesus to ask if he was indeed the coming Messiah, Jesus did not give him a straight predigested answer. His answer was designed to lead John to a life transforming dis-covery. Likewise with Pilate when he asked Jesus if he was indeed the king of the Jews. Jesus seems to respect people too much to simply give them a predigested answer. I believe again, that the casebook format of the Bible is designed to lead us into impactful discovery learning that will transform our lives, rather than to simply increase our store of information concerning God.

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9.   A ninth characteristic of God's communicative activity is that He invites the receptor to identify with Himself. In incarnation God identifies with the receptor. By so doing, however, he makes it possible for the receptor to complete what might be thought of as the communicational circle. That is, when the communicator gets close enough to the receptor to identify with him, the receptor is able to identify, in turn, with the communicator. As receptors, we seem to be able to understand messages best when we perceive that the communicator knows where we are. If he is able to get into our frame of reference, to establish his own personal credibility with us, to get to specific messages that show us he knows where we are, then we will find our ability to relate to him and to his message greatly enhanced. When the communicator relates to us in such a way that we can say, "I'm just like that," the impact of his message on us is greatly increased. That is why it is so tragic when a preacher puts himself so high above his people that they can't identify with him. They may feel that he is not where they are and cannot understand them well enough to say anything helpful to them.

How, for example, do you respond when someone from the Kennedy family talks about poverty? We are likely to dismiss whatever they say on this subject on the assumption that they have never had to experience what they are talking about. On the other hand, how do we react when we hear a member of that same family talking about suffering and death? At this point we are likely to have quite a different attitude, since we know that they have experienced great tragedy in these areas and have, therefore, earned their right to speak to us concerning them. Before God came to earth in Jesus Christ, how credible was anything he had to say concerning human life? It is all quite different now, however. For we know that Jesus lived and learned and suffered and died as one of us. Because, therefore, he identified with us, we can relate to him. We could not identify with a book or a loud speaker, only with a human being. When, therefore, he says, live as I have lived, suffer as I have suffered, give as I have given, we can follow him.

10.   The tenth characteristic of God's communication is that He communicates with such impact that people give themselves in commitment to His cause. This is an indication of the ultimate in impactful communication. It is not difficult to communicate simple information. It is only slightly more difficult to communicate in such a way that the receptor gets excited about what he

has heard. But to communicate in such a way that the receptor leaves what he is doing and commits himself to the cause of the communicator, this is the ultimate indication of communicational impact. Jesus said to the disciples, "commit yourselves to me." And they did, even to the extent that they defied the whole Roman empire. That's impact. That's the kind of communicator God is. And it is His example that we need to follow in our communicational efforts—not to get people to follow us but to mediate God's communication in such a way that they will follow Him.

THE CREDIBILITY OF THE MESSAGE AND THE MESSENGER

What I want to do in this chapter is to elaborate on, apply and extend the principles that I pointed to in Chapter 1. The special focus of Chapter 1 was on the activity of God in communication. The focus of this chapter is to deal a bit more with the question of what we need to do to imitate God's model. I am excited at this point in my life about the fact that Jesus not only died for us but that He lived for us. Among the many aspects of His life that we ought to imitate is the communicational example that He set. I finished Chapter 1 with the contention that the ultimate impact of communication is to get the receptor to give himself for the cause of the communicator. God's communication, has of course, had that kind of impact on many of us in many areas of our lives. A large part of that cause, and therefore our commitment is communicational.

In I Corinthians 11:1, the Apostle Paul made what seems to be an arrogant statement. He said, "Imitate me as I imitate Christ." He put himself squarely on the line by making a statement like that. He did not say, as I have heard many contemporary preachers say, "Lord, don't let them see me, let them see Jesus only." Paul seems to know that if his hearers were going to see Jesus at all, it had to be **through** him, not apart from him. That is, as a communicator, one who stands before people with a message to get across to them one cannot avoid the fact that the process of winning people to someone else involves first the winning of people to one's self. The credibility of the communicator is, therefore, an integral part of the effectiveness of the communicational process. The messenger is not separable from his message.

Two experiences in my life have driven this point home to me in a remarkable way. The first was an experience I had with a very intelligent and otherwise perceptive seminary professor.

Unfortunately, he did not see the close connections between what he was and what he said. Or, at least, he tried to avoid responsibility for any contradiction between his life and his words. What he said was, "Don't do what I do, do what I say." Now, fortunately, his life was not that much different from what he recommended. So we had little difficulty accepting both what he said and what he did. But the philosophy that he articulated is communicationally bankrupt.

The other experience that drove the point I am trying to make home to me was a thought that came to me one day as I surveyed the territory in rural Nigeria where I served as the only missionary. The majority of the people there, unlike here in America, had never even heard the name of Jesus Christ. Thus, when we spoke of Him they had no background independent of the Christian witnesses in terms of which to judge what Jesus must be like. They could not read the Scriptures, they were not acquainted with the two thousand years of Christian history that are so familiar to us, they could only watch those of us who called ourselves Christian. As I pondered these things, the thought came to me that, from their point of view, I am Jesus Christ! And it blew my mind. I was forced to recognize that I stood squarely in the gap between them and God. To them Jesus looked like I looked, He acted like I acted, He loved like I loved, He spoke, He ate, He drank, He travelled, He lived as I did. If they were going to see the love of God that Jesus lived to express, they would have to see it through me. What a responsibility! And yet, such a responsibility is not unique to a missionary in a pioneer area of the world. It is the responsibility of each one of us who stands and attempts to communicate in Jesus' name.

With respect to incarnation God, of course, could go much farther than we can. He was able to incarnate Himself as a distinct human being in a particular language and culture of his choosing in such a way that he experienced the full biological and cultural process of birth, learning, living and death within that culture. We do not have such an option, given the fact that we have already been born into and taught by families that we did not have the luxury of choosing. Thus, when we seek to reach people who live in a frame of reference different from our own, we are always limited by at least two factors that Jesus did not experience when he participated in first century Hebrew culture. First of all, we have not learned the cultural basis of our receptors' frame of reference as children, and, secondly, we are always hindered in our attempts to understand our receptors

by the fact that we have been trained into our own frame of reference. When speaking of human communication, therefore, we may better use the term "identification" rather than the term incarnation. We do this in recognition of the fact that the best we can do, even when we imitate God's incarnational approach, is to identify with our receptors. We can never fully enter their frame of reference as we might if we were born into it. Nevertheless, even though we must settle for something less than full incarnation, we may imitate God's communicational approach by doing our best to employ God'sprinciples. We assume, of course, that we are also doing our best to present God's message.

Employing God's Principles

1.   The first principle is the major principle, that of being receptor oriented. This principle is so important that it is worth the risk of my repeating a bit to elaborate some more. As I write this, I have to deal with the question,"Where are you the readers? I don't know most of you, so I have to guess where you might be. I guess by attempting to analogize on the basis of my own experience plus my guesses as to who might be reading this. To some extent, since my experience has been quite similar to that of many of you, I will be able to guess where you are fairly accurately. At many points, however, I will probably misunderstand or misestimate where you are and, therefore, fail in one way or another to communicate what you need in a way that will enable you to make good use of it. There is however, great risk involved here—risk that I may either flee from by refusing to even attempt to communicate, or that I may take even though I know that I will be misunderstood. It is obvious which course I have chosen.

The point is that once we know enough to be receptor oriented, we must face certain important questions. We must ask, for example, where are the receptors? What are they interested in? What is it going to take to reach them? Then we need to ask ourselves questions concerning the risk factor. Should we deal with this topic? Are these receptors prepared to understand and make use of the material we present? Is their attitude towards us as a communicator such that they will accept messages from us on this topic. Then we must ask ourselves questions concerning the way in which we present the message. It is not enough that we as communicators speak truth. We must, therefore, pay careful attention to the way we present our messages, lest the way we make our presentations,

the language we employ, the attitudes we project, deter our hearers from understanding what we intend that they understand. Our concern for the importance of the message commited to us, therefore, requires that we, like God, be receptor oriented.

2. A Second point at which, I believe, we should be more careful to imitate God is at the point of taking the initiative. Just as God did not stand and wait for others to seek him out, neither should we stand and wait. We have to go figuratively as well as actually where people are. We often establish our churches and other Christian organizations in such a way that the only way people will know we exist is by coming to where we are. I might refer to this as a "yellow pages" approach to evangelization. It is easy to assume that people know we exist and that they are convinced of our relevance.

Now, I am not simply speaking of the way we place our church buildings. We cannot, of course, be proud of the "waiting game" that characterizes many of our churches. They seem to say, "The people know we are here, if they want us they will seek us out." My primary focus is, however, on something more subtle than the placement of church buildings. That is the fact that a person sitting right next to us in the same room may be psychologically even more distant from us than many people on the other side of the world from us. And if we are to imitate God, we need to take the initiative to reach out to that person also. Or, if you are a pastor, there may be a great psychological difference between you and many of the members of the congregation. You cannot simply assume that if they attend regularly, they are getting the messages that you think they are getting . You may not be getting close enough to them psychologically and communicationally for them to really benefit from what you are saying. They, on the other hand, may simply be attending church out of habit or because they feel that God will bless them more if they spend this time with his people. To reach them, you may have to take the initiative.

One aspect of taking the initiative is to not assume too much with regard to the credibility, the trust and confidence, that people have in us. If you are not well known to the people you seek to communicate to, of course, you must establish your credibility with them in order to be listened to at all. We often, however, ignore the sense in which, even when people know us well, we need to reestablish our credibility in each new communicational situation. Whatever the situation demands, then, with respect to developing a trust relationship between ourselves and

our receptors, we need to take the initiative to establish our credibility. Another way of saying this is to suggest that we need to win the right to be heard in every communicational situation.

3. The initiative that we take, then, is to move toward the receptor, into his frame of reference. Just as God does, we need to employ the receptor's language, including his slang or jargon, key our message into his world of experience and interest, and over all refuse to give in to the temptation to force him into linguistic and conceptual territory that is familiar to us but not to him. The temptation to extract people from where they are into where we are in order that we may feel more comfortable in dealing with them is a strong temptation indeed. We found it at work on the mission field where people were encouraged to learn our language and our culture in order to adequately understand the message that we sought to communicate to them. As mentioned in Chapter 1, those who have been taught to understand and speak about God in theological terminology are very often tempted to require that their hearers learn to understand their language and thought patterns before they can properly understand the message of God.

Yet we often do not really know where our receptors are. One of the dangerous things that often happens to a person when he takes a pastorate or other Christian service position, is that he assumes that he knows where his people are. Preacher after preacher has had to find another pastorate, or even another occupation because that assumption turned out to be wrong. One problem is, of course, that we are trained in classrooms for occupations that are usually quite unlike anything that goes on in our classrooms. Some of our problems would be solved if we were trained to do things by **doing** those things rather than by simply **thinking** about doing those things. When we spend our time thinking about things we learn to think about things. When we do things we learn how to do things.

One pastor that I know did what I think is exactly the right thing. He took a pastorate in a small industrial town in New England soon after he graduated from college. He had, however, barely settled into that pastorate when he took a job in a factory. When the church leaders found out about this, they called him on the carpet. They knew they were not paying him the highest salary in the world, but they did expect him to be full time. His reply was something as follows "I am full time. All of the money I'm making in the factory is going right into the church. My problem is that I have spent all of my life to date in school. I

just don't know where you people are. You are spending from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. every day in the factory and until I have spent 9:00 to 5:00 day after day in the factory I'm not going to be able to speak effectively to you." This is the kind of identificational approach that I am recommending. His sermons from that time on were right where the people were. He was constantly talking about his interaction with the people on either side of him where he was working in the factory. He refused to assume that he knew where his hearers were simply because he'd been in school and studied a bit about them. He got out there and learned about his people by doing the things that they did in the kinds of contexts in which they spent their lives. He didn't work very long in the factory, he didn't have to. He only had to work long enough to get a feel for where his congregation was so that he could use this understanding to get into their frame of reference.

Anything not in the receptors' frame of reference is virtually unintelligible to him. We can bring in new information from outside into the frame of reference of the receptors, but everything depends on how we bring it in. People learn, apparently, by analogies. But these analogies must be familiar enough to them from within their experience to make the point that the communicator is trying to make. When the point is made, then, the receptors recombine the material that is already in their heads with the new material to arrive at new understandings. It is the job of the communicator to so present his new material within the receptor's frame of reference that the receptor can interact with it thoroughly enough to produce constructive new understandings within his head. I am not suggesting that we cannot present new material to our receptors. On the contrary, if we look at Jesus' example, we find that he frequently presented new material to his hearers. But he used familiar forms such as parables and analogies from the life experience of his receptors in order to maximize their ability to integrate the new information into their frame of reference.

4. But even though we may have effectively entered the receptor's frame of reference, there is still no assurance that we will communicate effectively unless we have gained the receptors' respect. As I have suggested in Chapter 1, there is a distancing that takes place when one allows himself to be called by a title. Titles designate stereotypes, assigned positions that people have in relationship to other people. But when you assign someone a position in some category other than your own category, you

isolate him from yourself. The title, the stereotype, enables you to predict not only the position of that person in relationship to yourself, but the behavior of that person. And if he conforms to that stereotype in his interaction with you, you say to yourself, "What should I expect?"

One very interesting indication of the kind of stereotype that preachers have in the minds of lay people is the way that the preacher in the Pogo comic strip is presented. All of the other characters in that comic strip are represented as speaking in ordinary type. But the preacher is presented as speaking in Old English type! This, I believe, is intended to show the kind of stereotype that people have of preachers. It is also a very clever way to represent in print the distance that is ordinarily understood to exist between preachers and common people.

What, then, is the answer to this problem? It is, I believe, to escape from the stereotype by refusing to be predictable in terms of that stereotype. Now, there are ways of not conforming to a stereotype that will ultimately hinder the communication. I am not suggesting that we employ means that would be inconsistent with the message that we seek to communicate. Nor am I suggesting that **anything** unpredictable that we might do will help the communication. I could, for example, use language in this presentation that would be both unpredictable and detrimental to the communication. There is, however, a kind of unpredictability that I would like to recommend that is both consistent with what Jesus did and a distinct asset to communication whenever we find ourselves boxed in by a stereotype.

5. What I would like to suggest is that we attempt to overcome the distancing created by a stereotype by becoming a **genuine human being** to our receptors. Think, for example, of certain stereotypes and then ask yourself the question what is the opposite of each of those stereotypes? You will discover, I think, that you, along with most other receptors, will tend to think of people as either preachers or human beings, either teachers or human beings, either young people or human beings, etc. This may be slightly overstated but only slightly if at all. I think there is an important truth in the observation that we tend to define people who are like us as human beings, while we define those on the other side of a stereotype boundary from us in terms of whatever the generalized characteristics of that stereotype seem to be in our minds.

I came across this fact in a dramatic way one time in Nigeria. I was discussing with one of my friends there some

aspect of Euro-American culture when he remarked to me, "Fear God, fear the white man." This statement turned out to be one of their proverbs. And as I began to probe the meaning of the proverb, I became aware of the fact that we whites were not only distanced from them by their stereotype of us, but we were linked with God rather than with human beings in their minds. As I pondered this, it was not difficult for me to understand their point of view. From their point of view, only God and whites had the power to produce automobiles, bicycles, grain grinding machines, radios, airplanes, and the like. Furthermore, only God and whites could be so confident, self assured, free from fear and unpredictable. Human beings (that is, people like themselves) are not powerful, not wealthy, fairly predictable, not self assured, fearful, etc. So everything seemed to indicate that we fit into the God category rather than into the human being category. What I began to ask myself, then, was how am I going to become a human being to them in order that I might communicate to them on a person to person level?

What is the difference in your relationship with people between those who first get to know you as a human being and only later discover that you have earned a title, and those who first get to know you in terms of your title? Sometimes, if they first get to know you in terms of your title, you will then say and do things that cause them to remark, "Gee, you sure don't act like a _____." If you are a teacher, they may say, "You don't act like a teacher, you act like a human being." Of course, they usually do not articulate the last part of the sentence. They usually simply say: "You don't act like a teacher," or "You don't act like a preacher," or "you don't act like a Christian." But what they mean is that somehow you have broken out of the stereotype in terms of which they had been thinking of you and have become for them a human being. And actually, if becoming a human being to them is done in a proper way, it will enhance your ability to communicate to them.

I would like to suggest a five step process for escaping from a stereotype into the human being category of our receptors. The first step is to try to **understand** them. This is not always easy and it is not always enjoyable. Oftentimes we are called upon to attempt to communicate to people of whom we really don't approve. We may not even like them or approve of their lifestyles. But we must attempt to understand them in terms of their own frame of reference if we are to have any chance of becoming credible to them.

Then we must go beyond simply understanding them to **empathizing** with them. Empathy is the attempt to put ourselves in the place of those to whom we are trying to relate. It involves us in attempting to look at the world in the way that our receptors are looking at it. We may have to say to ourselves, "If I assumed the world to be what they assume it to be, how would I think and act?" If we properly understand and empathize, then, we should come to a fairly good understanding of what their definition of human beingness is. For it may be quite different from our definition.

And this puts us in a good position to take the third step, which is to **identify** with our receptors. Now, identification is a difficult concept. And many people have the wrong impression of it. They think identifying with others is becoming fake. And sometimes it can be. Many think of older people trying to speak young people's language, dress like young people and grow beards. But true identification is not being fake. It is not trying to **become** someone else. It is, rather, taking the trouble to become more than what one ever was before by genuinely entering into the life of other people. There are dimensions to most of us that we have never really probed. And identifying with another person or group, genuinely entering into his frame of reference, challenges us to probe another of these unprobed areas. One of the amazing things about human beings is that we can become bi-cultural. We can, by entering into the lives of other people, become just as real in that context as we are in our normal context. It takes more work, it takes a lot of learning, a lot of modifying. However, when we find our efforts paying off to the extent that people remark, "you are just like one of us," we begin to realize that it is very much worth it.

But in order to do this, we need to take the fourth step and to participate in the lives of the people we are trying to reach. Beyond simply identifying with them and their life is participating in it with them. This, of course, needs to be done with caution. But we see, I think, in Jesus' ministry a kind of fearlessness concerning what people might say about him when he went to even disreputable places and associated with even disreputable people. He "lost his testimony" for the sake of the people that he sought to win by participating with them in their lives.

The fifth stage, then, in attempting to become a human being in order to reach human beings, is what has been termed "**self exposure**." One could go all the way to the participation

stage in this process and never really let others know what one is like beneath his skin. It is, unfortunately, possible to identify and participate with people without really giving one's self to those people. Thus, it is necessary to go beyond participation to self exposure. This is the practice of sharing one's inner most feelings with those with whom one participates. It is not the kind of questionable practice that some indulge in when they share intimate details of their inner life in their public presentations. It is, rather, the sharing of one's innermost feelings with those within the receptor group with whom one has earned intimacy. At this level, the confession of faults, doubts, and insecurities becomes a valid part of one's testimony rather than a disqualification of one's right to speak convincingly. I believe Jesus related to at least some (perhaps not all) of his disciples at this intimate level. Even our records show him at the self-exposure level when he cries over Jerusalem, when he casts out the money changers, and when in Gethsemane he begs God to accomplish his purposes in some other way than via death. Becoming a genuine, credible human being to our receptors takes us beyond understanding, empathy, identification and participation to this kind of self exposure.

One final word would seem to be in order before I turn to my next point. That is to point out that in order to reach people in a frame of reference other than our own in the way that I am recommending, we do not have to either convert to that frame of reference as our preferred way of life in the sense that we adopt our receptors' lifestyle, nor do we have to uncritically endorse that way of life. Certainly Jesus, by becoming a common person in first century Palestine, did not endorse every aspect of the lives of those with whom he participated. When, however, he spoke critically of their lives, he spoke as one who was committed to them as a participant in their lives rather than as an outsider who simply threw stones at them.

Perhaps this is why he got so upset with the Pharisee who, in the story recorded in John 8, sought to stone the woman taken in adultery. I believe part of what he was saying to them was that, unless they participated in real life the way she was forced to participate in it, and understood life from her perspective, and still could maintain their righteousness, they had no right to condemn her. I don't believe that Jesus condoned her activity, but neither did he condone the right of outsiders to condemn her according to laws that they, within their own context, were unable to obey.

When one lives in two worlds, all that is required is the acceptance of the validity of each way of life. We do not even condone much of what goes on within our own world, much less that that goes on within someone else's world. We must understand that their world, though it may differ considerably from ours, is no less valid as a way of life than is ours. And yet, we may still prefer our original frame of reference to that of those whom we seek to reach. There is nothing wrong with this. For there is no necessity for a bi-cultural person—one who has become more than what he was when he was simply monocultural—to convert to the second culture or sub-culture. He can, like Paul be a Jew with Jews and a Greek with Greeks (I Cor. 9:20) without losing his authenticity.

6. Now, as our sixth major point we turn to the credibility of the message that the communicator presents. Not only must the communicator himself/herself be perceived by the receptors as authentic and credible. His/her message must have the same kind of ring to it. And to do so the message must speak to the felt (or perceived) needs of those who hear it.

The whole matter of perception by the receptors is at this point (as at all other points) crucial. I once heard a theologian say, "There is nothing more relevant than the Christian message". He said this as if relevance is something that is attached to a given subject matter for ever and ever. Yet we have to ask the question: "If the Christian message is inherently relevant, why are so many people perceiving it to be irrelevant?" I believe the reason lies in the fact that relevance is **constructed** by the receptors in communicational situations. Relevance is as relevance is perceived. Again, as in all areas of communication, the final verdict is up to the receptor. If you take what I'm saying to be relevant it is because you have constructed it that way in this situation. You have received it as relevant. You have been able to connect it with something in your own experience, some need that you have come to feel. If you perceive what I'm saying to be irrelevant, then I've probably not been successful in trying to relate it to your felt needs. Perhaps I had assumed that you had needs in areas where you don't have needs. So you have been unable to construct this message as relevant to your particular situation.

The Gospel is like that too. It is not perceived as relevant by everyone, unfortunately. It would be very nice if it were. It would be very nice if we could just stand up here and do what some people recommend—simply present the Gospel as best we

can and leave the rest to God. In some sense, of course, we have to do that, for we are dependent on the Holy Spirit to bring people to respond to God. But there are disturbing instances where we think the Holy Spirit ought to make it relevant to people and and he doesn't seem to. Yet it seems that when I do my job better, the Holy Spirit usually does his job better. The variable in this whole situation, though, is not the Holy Spirit but me. So I need to do my best to present that message that has transformed my life in such a way that it is perceived as relevant to the people to whom I speak and before whom I live. And that means relating it to their felt needs.

Relevance and felt needs, though, are matters of the here and now. We are living now and so are our hearers. Yet the documents we work with (the Bible) are relating God's messages to other people in other times and places. And because of that fact it is easy to fall into the mistake of dealing with the Scriptures as if God's main intent were merely to provide interesting (or sometimes dull) history lessons or linguistic expositions. We who have trained for Christian ministry often have our minds so full of such a variety of interesting and helpful classroom-type details concerning the Scriptures that we insist on regularly transporting our hearers back into Biblical times and places rather than on understanding and interpreting Scriptural messages in relation to their felt needs.

I was taught in seminary that exegetical and expository preaching are better than topical preaching. The validity of this point lies in the fact that unless pulpit attention to current topics is solidly grounded in the Scriptures, it is unworthy of the Christian communicator. I think, however, that we need to add two important qualifications to any recommendation of exegetical or expository preaching: 1) if it is to be true to the relevance criterion here recommended (and, I believe, exhibited in Scripture), preaching must be topical enough to relate to the felt needs of these people at this time and in this place; and 2) that Jesus was always topical. To be Scriptural is, I believe, to deal Scripturally with topics perceived by our hearers to be relevant to their felt needs.

The concept of felt need must not, however, be understood as merely a superficial kind of thing. People do, of course, have needs of which they are aware. These are usually articulated in questions they ask at the surface level. And attention to these is often the only "gateway" by means of which a communicator will be allowed to get through to his receptors. Once he has made

use of such a gateway, however, he finds increasingly deeper levels of need only some of which the receptors could have articulated early in the relationship. Some of these needs may have been there at the start but felt only at a subconscious level if at all. Some may have been developed during the process of the interaction. One thing that often happens in effective Christian communication is that trust and credibility of messenger and message is established at a fairly superficial (perhaps even trivial) level. Through interaction between the receptor, on the one hand, and Christians and the Scriptures, on the other, then, the receptor enters a process by means of which he discovers other needs that propel him to seek answers from Christian friends and the Scriptures. As he receives answers from these sources, however, he uncovers still other needs that need to be dealt with in the same way. And so on.

7. In keeping with our focus on relevance to felt needs, and in imitation of Jesus' model, we suggest next that the message needs to be specific to the real life of the receptors. As I have noted in chapter 1, this is one of the great things about the Scriptures. They present and deal with real life things. They consist largely of case studies of real people in real life situations. And even when Jesus taught via parables, these were true-to-life stories, many of which are so characteristic of real life that it is hard to believe that they didn't actually happen.

In Jesus' name, though, we often deal with our subject matter at such a general level that there is little or no perception of relevance on the part of our hearers. If we use good illustrations and/or get personal we are more effective because we have gotten specific. It is via the specificity of the illustration or the personal account, then, that whatever is communicated gets across, not via the general points in our outlines. And many an unaware preacher has effectively communicated something quite different via his illustrations that what he intended to get across!

I was at a large meeting of young people one time when I decided to test the degree to which the young people were paying attention to the speaker. So I worked out on a piece of paper what might be referred to as a makeshift "cough meter." There were nine thousand young people at that meeting and the weather was very cold, so nearly everyone was coughing. What I did, therefore, was to try to draw a line on my paper that indicated the level of the coughing. This line went up and down as the coughing level went up and down. What I observed was that

while the speaker was dealing with the main points in his outline, the level of coughing was relatively high. When, however, he got specific, either in terms of an illustration or by describing his own personal experience, nine thousand young people stopped coughing! I remember clearly from that experience how attentive the young people became each time the speakers became personal. They seemed to be unconsciously evaluating the generalized presentation as something that could be ignored or, at least, as something to which they did not have to devote their whole attention. The specific illustrations and personal experiences, on the other hand, seemed to be evaluated as so important that they should devote their full attention to them. It might be useful to make this kind of observation in church as well. Observations of the level of coughing, fidgiting, clock watching and the like will probably lead you to the same conclusion that I have come to—that specific messages receive greater attention than general messages do.

8. As point number eight, then, I want to emphasize that, as with Jesus, the effective Christian communicator needs to lead the receptor to discovery. As I have mentioned, discovery learning is minimized by many of our American educational and church procedures. When, however, the communicator becomes a real human being, presenting his message in close specific relation to the receptors' felt needs, discovery is enhanced enormously. Case studies, illustrations, specific application to the real life of the hearers, raising questions for which the receptor must struggle for answers, and the like, are all helpful techniques for leading people to discovery.

The matter of the ease with which the receptors can move from material presented to application in their own life is again relevant here. We have been carefully taught that if we can present general principles, our hearers can easily make the applications. I don't blieve that is as true as we tend to assume. I think more often we find that communication is most effective when the communicator has presented something rather specific that we find we can relate to, because we discover that the specifics of what he is presenting and the specifics of our own experience are rather close to each other. I think, as I have said before, that it is easier to go from specific to specific than from general to specific. But even if the communication is from general principle to specific application, is much more impactful if the receptor discovers how the principle applies to his life than if the communicator points it out to him.

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9. Much of what I have been saying here can be summarized in the principle, the messenger himself/herself is the major component of the total message. As much as we might like to avoid this kind of responsibility, as much as it frightens us to recognize the responsibility involved here, I believe we must accept this fact. For, as McLuhan has pointed out, the medium that transmits the message conveys a message of its own. Some people try to avoid their responsibility in this regard by attempting to separate widely between the message and their own behavior. The professor mentioned above who said, "Don't do what I do, do what I say" is a case in point. His approach was unrealistic at best, irresponsible at worst, though it must be said that a professor who only spends a few hours a week with his students might be better able to pull off such a philosophy than someone who has greater and more total involvement with those to whom he communicates. The major thing a professor (or a preacher) communicates is, however, what he does, not what he says. Indeed, the main thing we learn from professors and preachers is how to be professors and preachers, not as we think, the messages that they articulate verbally! For this reason I recommend in chapter four below what I believe to be a better total model for the kind of communication that we seek to get across as Christians.

We are a major part of the message that we seek to communicate. This is why it is so important if we are in a pastoral situation to spend as much time as possible with the people in our congregation. It is in visitation, rather than in preaching, that the majority of important communication goes on. Sermonizing is more like the display in a store window than like the merchandise on the counters. Store managers know that it is very important to have good display in the windows. But they also know that their business will not be successful if they spend all their time decorating the windows and none of their time making sure that they have good merchandise inside the store. A pastor, therefore, who spends most of his time preparing his window display (his sermons) and little of his time dealing with his people and the merchandise that he has to present to them on an individual level, will not be very effective in the Lord's business. Likewise a pastor who keeps a great distance between himself and his people. He may be able to perform well in front of his people but that performance becomes a part of his message. And people learn all kinds of strange things concerning God by observing such performances. The fact that God became a human being to reach human beings is not only

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relevant as a technique for putting his messages across, it is an essential characteristic of the message itself. It is, furthermore, something that we must imitate if we are to accurately communicate God's message. Christianity is someone to follow, not simply information to assimilate. Our lives must, therefore, line up in support of both the person and the personalness of the Christ message. If our lives contradict that message, the information we seek to get across is worthless.

10.   The tenth point, then, is that the communicator should aim to bring the receptors to identify with him and to commit themselves to his cause. As we have seen, this is the ultimate impact of effective communication. Jesus did this and we follow him because of it. Now we are to do it and to bring others to follow us as we follow Christ (I Corinthians 11:1). Jesus was God's incarnation for his day. Now, in a very real sense we stand in his shoes as God's message incarnated for this day. If we present our message in the way that I have been recommending, our receptors will see both us and our message as vitally related to themselves and their needs. Some of them, then, will choose to identify with us, not only as human beings but as communicators of the message that they find transforming their lives. They respond with receptor identification and commitment to our cause. This is an indication that the Holy Spirit has been doing his work, but it is also an indication that we have communicated effectively. And this is our ultimate aim in imitation of Christ to whom we have responded in identification and commitment to his cause.

WHAT IS THE RECEPTOR UP TO?

We have focused in chapters one and two on God's model and the application of that model on the part of the communicator. Now we turn to a focus on the receptors. We may take as the text Romans 10:14-17 the intent of which can, I believe, be adequately summarized as "faith results from understanding and responding to the message effectively communicated." We have suggested that a communicator needs to be receptor oriented. We have also indicated that receptors construct the meanings that result from communicational situations and then respond to those meanings that they construct.

1.   My first point in this regard is that the receptors are not passive. One mistake that older theorists of communication made was that receptors are rather like sponges, simply soaking up the messages that are sent their way. If, however, we try to analyze our own activity as we converse with someone or sit in the audience listening to a lecture or sermon, we begin to realize that we are anything but passive. Indeed, as we interact with someone in conversation, we may find that often we are not listening as we should to what the other person is saying. We are too busy constructing what we are going to say in response. Or as we sit listening to a lecture we may find that our thoughts are miles away or that we are in our head arguing with the speaker rather than simply listening to him.

The fact seems to be that in any communicational situation there are many things going on at the same time. At any given time when we are listening to a speaker, we may be more concerned with how he is saying something than with **what** he is saying. Or we may be more focused in on the way he looks than we are on what he is saying. Or we may be more concerned with the person next to us or with someone else in the audience than we are either with the message or the messenger. Those of us who have listened to countless sermons and lectures may, in fact, have gotten into the habit of picking the message apart he speaks. I have spent my time in any number of sermons and lectures doing just that. In fact, there is probably not a sermon or a lecture that I cannot find something wrong with, especially if I don't want to be listening to it in the first place.

Or, we may be listening intently to the communication and interacting positively with everything that is said. But even then, we are anything but passive. We are actively interacting with the communication, whether we are accepting it, rejecting it, or avoiding it.

2. My second point is that one of the most important kinds of activity that receptors engage in is the activity of constructing the meanings that result from the communicational interaction. Older theories of communication saw communicators simply putting together and passing along words and phrases that contain their meanings. The receptor might or might not understand what is being said, because he might or might not understand the meanings of the words and phrases employed. But, according to these older theories, all the receptor needs to do to arrive at the intended meanings is to find out the proper meanings of the words and phrases. For, these theories contend, the meanings lie in the message itself.

Recent communication theory, however, has abandoned that rather mechanical view of communication in favor of a more personalistic view. Contemporary understandings contend that a major difference between messages and meanings lies in the fact that messages can be transmitted in linguistic form while meanings exist only in the hearts and minds of people. Contemporary communiologists see communicators with meanings in their minds that they would like to transmit to receptors. Communicators take these meanings and formulate them, usually in linguistic form, into messages which they then transmit to receptors. Receptors then, listen to the messages and construct within their minds sets of meanings that may or may not correspond with the meanings intended by the communicator.

Meanings, therefore, do not pass from me to you, only messages. The meanings exist only within me or within you. I have certain meanings in my mind that I would like to get across. I try to formulate these in terms of messages, whether verbal, written or in some other form. In the case of this transaction I am formulating my meanings via writing. You, then, read my messages and construct within your mind the meaning that you consider to be appropriate to the messages that I am sending. If you are positively disposed toward me and my messages, it is likely that you will construct meanings that are at least favorable toward what I am trying to say. You might still misunderstand what I am saying, but you are likely to give me the benefit of the doubt. If, on the other hand, you are negative toward me and/or my messages, you are likely to attach unfavorable

meanings to the messages that I send whether or not you understand them. The messages, then, serve as **stimulators** rather than as containers. Receptors, in response to the stimulus of messages construct meanings that may or may not correspond to what the communicator intended.

The significance of this particular insight is extremely important to all of us who seek to communicate effectively. It means that if I am going to get across to you I am automatically accountable both for the way I construct the message and for the impact of that construction upon you. This means that I am accountable to understand as much as I possibly can concerning how you are likely to receive my messages. And this relates strongly to your previous experience with messages of this kind. If I know you, I am able to predict with a fair degree of accuracy how you will respond. If, however, I do not know you, my ability to predict your response may be severely hampered. Suppose, for example, I speak or write like someone with whom you have had a bad experience. The meanings that you construct from my messages are going to be affected by that fact. And the ultimate verdict concerning what results from the communicational situation will be affected by circumstances largely beyond my control.

I can present you with information in the best way I know how. But if I don't really know you, the way I present that information can be based only on my best guess as to where you might be and how this type of presentation might affect you. I will try to use words, phrases, and the like that you will both understand and toward which you will be positively disposed in order that you will give my messages at least the benefit of the doubt. But I may not guess right. Or, I might naively employ terminology that I happen to like that raises red flags in your mind.

Suppose, for example, I like the word "liberal." Suppose the word has for me a positive connotation and I start talking about the glories of being a liberal. I suspect that the audience to which I am now writing would be strongly inclined to be negative both toward me and toward my message if I tried to use that word in a positive sense. If, on the other hand, I identify myself as a "conservative," particularly with regard to theological issues, my guess is that the audience to which I am writing would take a positive attitude toward me and my message. In either case, the communication that I seek to get across is affected to a greater extent by the meanings that you the audience attach to the words and phrases that I employ than

it is by the meanings that I attach to those symbols. And if I don't realize what is going on, it would be very easy for me to stimulate in your minds meanings that are quite distant from the meanings that I intend.

The importance of this particular fact in communicational situations was once driven home to me in a way that I cannot forget. I was asked by a very conservative church to give a series of Wednesday evening lectures on the subject of Bible Translation. As near as I could tell the first lecture was received quite well. But when I appeared the next week for the second lecture, I was informed by the leader of the group that some of the people were complaining about me because I did not use the phrase "the blood of Christ" in my lecture the previous week. I suggested to the leader that the omission of that phrase had more to do with the subject matter about which I was talking than with any position that I might have against the sacrificial work of Christ. His reply was that he well understood my point of view but that if I could insert that phrase somewhere in my discussion this week, it would help considerably in the communicational situation. Now, what was going on here was the fact that those who were listening to my message were not sure whether they should construct meanings that they considered orthodox or meanings that they considered liberal from my message. They did not know me and were not sure about my credibility. So I decided to take their request seriously and provided them with a fairly detailed testimony concerning to my Christian experience. After that they all relaxed and we had a good series of interactions. They were looking for something that would stimulate meanings of trust in their minds. Their message to me, then, was couched in the words "blood of Christ." I guessed correctly what they really meant by this symbol and provided them with a personal testimony—an alternate symbol that enabled them to attach the meaning "orthodoxy" to my messages. And we had a good relationship after that.

The point is that one of the important activities of receptors is the constructing of the meanings that they attach to the messages to which they are exposed. These meanings are consructed by attaching particular meanings—both denotative and connotative—to the symbols via which the message is presented. Those symbols, the words, phrases, sentences, etc., in which the messages are couched, are not, therefore, like box cars that carry the same meaning wherever they go. They are more like darts, thrown to prick people at certain points in order to stimulate in them certain kinds of responses.

People communicating in the same language do, of course, attach largely similar meanings to the same words, phrases, etc. This is because as parts of a single linguistic community, they have all been taught to attach similar meanings to the same symbols. But even within the same community there is a greater or lesser range of variation in the meanings that various members of the community attach to the words they use. There is very seldom, if ever, a complete correspondence between the meanings in the head of the communicator and the meanings in the heads of the receptors. The approximations may, however, be fairly close and the communication quite adequate, in spite of the lack of a total correspondence between the communicator's meanings and the receptors' meanings. In any event, it is crucial for the communicator to recognize that the receptor is active in the process of meaning construction and to do everything he can do to assure that the receptors' activity in this respect will be closer to rather than farther from what he communicator intends.

3. Another activity that the receptor engages in constantly is that of evaluating the message. It is apparently a basic of our humanity that we not only participate in experiences but we evaluate them. In a communication experience then, we evaluate each compound of that experience, including the communicator (whether someone else or ourselves), the message, and the receptors. If we are the receptors in a given situation, we constantly evaluate the message in relation to ourselves, including our past experiences, our present experiences and whatever we are projecting for ourselves in the future.

One aspect of our evaluation relates to the total situation. We evaluate such aspects as place, time, other persons involved, manner of dress of the participants, the temperature, the arrangement of persons, furniture and other accoutrements, and all other features of the communicational situation. From this evaluation we construct an overall impression of the situation. This overall impression then, has much to do with how we interpret what goes on in that situation. You know how differently you react in a given situation if you evaluate it positively from the way you might act in a similar situation that you evaluate negatively or neutrally. You are also aware of the fact that in some situations your impression is strongly positive or strongly negative, while in other situations your impression is only mildly positive or mildly negative. The point is that we evaluate all situations in which we participate and that this is one primary form of activity in which we engage as receptors.

In addition to evaluating the total situation, however, we constantly evaluate each part of the situation. Indeed we may find ourselves positively disposed to a total situation but negatively disposed towards certain of the people in that situation, certain of the messages communicated in that situation, or even our own participation in the situation. In any event, receptors certainly are not passive in communicational situations—they are constantly evaluating them.

4. Another kind of activity in which receptors are engaged is the matter of selectivity. Receptors are selective with respect to at least four areas. The first of these is with respect to what kinds of things one will be exposed to. Those of you who are reading this have chosen to be exposed to it. There are probably many others who glanced at this material and decided not to expose themselves to it. In our everyday lives we are constantly selecting those things that we want to be exposed to and those things that we do not want to be exposed to. There are, of course, many reasons why we choose to expose ourselves to certain things but not to others. Not infrequently the choice to expose ourselves to some things relates more to our desire to please someone else than it does to our interest in that to which we expose ourselves. But whatever the reason the fact is that receptors are active with respect to choosing what they will expose themselves to communicationally.

Not infrequently, though, we find ourselves in a position where we are exposed to communications that we would rather not be exposed too. Sometimes our spouses, or children or friends drag us to some communicational event against our wills. Or, we may have to attend something because it is required by our job, our role, or some social involvement in which we find ourselves. At times like these we have another kind of activity that we can employ as receptors. That is selectivity of attention. We may not be able to avoid being exposed to given messages, but we may find it possible to only pay attention to certain parts of those messages. We may sort of blip in and blip out while the communication is taken place. Or we may allow ourselves to get easily distracted by something else that is going on. Either way, we pay attention only to certain aspects of the communication. Sometimes we are so inattentive that we mentally go off into a distant land or even fall asleep. At such times selective attention comes quite close to selective exposure.

A third area in which receptors exercise selectivity is in the area of perception. It is not always possible to avoid exposure or even to avoid paying some attention to the message. But we

tend to perceive messages in such a way that they confirm already held positions, whether or not the communicator intended them that way. This is usually done unconsciously and relates to our overall evaluation of the situation and the various components of it. One person with a given attitude toward a communicational situation may perceive and even distort the message in one way while another person in the same situation but with a different evaluation of it will perceive or distort the message in quite another direction. Whether or not we understand the message also plays an important part. The perception that we take away from a communicational situation may be distorted as much by partial understanding or even misunderstanding as it is by our evaluation or because of our understanding, we are consciously or unconsciously selective in our perception of the messages that we hear.

Our intention when we go into a communicational situation likewise has much to do with what we perceive from that situation. If for example, we go into a situation seeking comfort or distraction or entertainment, we are likely to come away from that situation having gotten what we came for but missing whatever else the communicator might have intended. Or, if we go into a situation with high expectations concerning what we will obtain but find nothing to meet those expectations, we may well go away from that situation totally disappointed having perceived only in terms of the negating of our expectations while having missed many valuable things that we could have obtained had we been less selective in our perception.

The fourth area in which receptors are selective is in the area of recall. On occasion, we may be exposed to a message, pay attention to it, and even perceive it correctly, but when we remember back to that occasion at a later date, we may choose to remember only a certain selection of the things that we actually heard. This choice is usually made in terms of those things that fit in most easily with the things that we already believed and felt. That is, if we have a positive attitude towards ourself and the communicator said things that fit in with that positive attitude (no matter what else he said), we may well remember only those things. If, on the other hand, we have a negative attitude towards ourselves, and the communicator said things that fit in with that predisposition, it is likely that we will recall those things, even if the communicator said many things that were contrary to this predisposition. I will develop this point further in the next section. Suffice it to say that in at least these four ways receptors engage in the activity of selection in communicational events.

5. Receiving communication is a risky business. Receptors are, therefore, continually active in dealing with the risk. As we read this, or as we sit listening to a communicator speak, we may have little conscious awareness of the risk factor. And yet, whenever we expose ourselves to communication we are risking the possibility that we might have to change some aspect of our lives. We ordinarily seek at all costs to maintain our present equilibrium, to protect ourselves from assimilating anything that will upset our psychological balance. To do this we often build walls around ourselves in such a way that we can shed much of what we hear that would cause us to change our lifestyle. By means of the selectivity of which we have been talking, we refuse to take seriously much of what we hear. We refuse to process information, to be concerned about it, to see the implications of such information for our lives. Or, even if we do see the implications, we often refuse to work such insights into our lives. One thing we often do, of course, is to apply what we hear to someone else's life in order to avoid having to take it seriously ourselves.

These strategies that we use are often referred to as "coping strategies." A coping strategy is a way of dealing with the threats that come to our equilibrium from such sources as ambiguity, unanswered questions, and incomplete assimilation of new information. In school, of course, we are bombarded with so much information that we learn well how to cope with information overload by shedding most of it. We may learn enough of it well enough to pass whatever examinations we have to face, but we develop the habit of refusing to process most of it. We also learn, however, to defend ourselves against much of the information that we do process. The so called "critical thinking," that we are taught to employ is often no more than defensive thinking, designed more to protoect us from considering new ideas than to evaluate those ideas in terms of their potential value to us. We learn to say, "yes but . . . ," to nearly all new ideas in order to minimize the risk to our psychological equilibrium that a serious consideration of new ideas would entail.

Note what frequently happens in this regard when we listen to someone speak. If they are on the other side of an experience gap from us, we may protect ourselves from risk by saying to ourselves as they speak, "Yes, but he doesn't understand where I am." If the communicator has a status such as preacher, teacher, or someone else we regard as having "made it," we may say to ourselves, "Yes, but he doesn't have to face what I have

to face." If the speaker seems to be dealing with a complex issue at a fairly superficial level, we may avoid the risk of taking him seriously by saying to ourselves, "Yes, but he has terribly over-simplified things." If the communicator increases the risk by keeping good eye contact with his receptors, the latter may use various strategies to keep from having to look the communicator in the eye. In these and similar ways, receptors are very active in attempting to reduce the risk involved in communication situations. Even agreeing with people without seriously considering what they say may be a coping strategy engaged in by some to avoid or reduce the risk factor in communication.

6. Another kind of activity that receptors are involved in is the production and transmission of what is called "feedback." As the communicator speaks, his receptors are active in sending messages back to him. These messages, or feedback, serve various purposes in the communicational interaction. Often the receptor wants to encourage the communicator. He may, therefore, smile, nod, make some short comment or in some other way show his approval of what the communicator is saying. On the other hand, receptors often want to provide the communicator with negative feedback. In English speaking situations we often shake our heads, frown, or make short negative comments to provide negative feedback. Quite often the receptor produces and transmits feedback at a subconscious level. As receptors we may fidget, cough, show rapt attention, either seek or avoid eye contact, or in other ways quite unconsciously send feedback to communicators. Sometimes, indeed, as receptors we carry on a rather full internal conversation with the communicator of which he is rather completely unaware. Whatever of this surfaces in such a way that the communicator can read it becomes feedback.

The constructing, sending and receiving of feedback in communicational situations is a rather intricate business. Often receptors construct and send a good bit of feedback that is not picked up by the communicator. If, for example, the communicator has been brought up in such a way that he has not learned to read the particular feedback that the receptors construct and send, there can be a considerable amount of miscommunication. Often, in our society, fellows and girls are trained into quite different feedback systems. It is not uncommon for a girl to send large amounts of feedback that are never picked up by the fellows with whom she associates. Often such feedback is constructed in rather elaborate "hints" that are not responded to by fellows. Those who construct and send feedback, therefore,

must also be receptor oriented, in the sense that they must be careful to send the kind of feedback that is intelligible to their receptors, if they are to be correctly understood.

7. The final type of receptor activity with which I would like to deal is that of coming to a verdict concerning the communication. The receptor needs to do something about the communication. He has to decide whether to act on the communication or to ignore it. If the communication simply involves information, as with a news broadcast, he needs to decide whether to try to remember it or to simply forget it. If the communicator is appealing for a change in his behavior, he needs to decide whether to respond positively, negatively or neutrally to that appeal. Whatever the decision the receptor comes to concerning the communication, some kind of a verdict, some kind of a judgment is involved.

Suppose the verdict is to ignore some sort of persuasive communication. The receptor may decide to judge that the communication is directed to someone else, or that the communication should be regarded as a performance rather than as an appeal, or that he is already performing what is being recommended. Any of these, or other decisions with respect to communication, qualify as verdicts made by the receptor.

One of the verdicts that we often make in classroom situations is what to do with the notes we take on the lectures that we hear. We recognize that we cannot possibly remember all of the things presented to us by the lectures we listen to, so we choose to record some of the more important things on paper. Then we have to decide what we do with the notes. We are often helped by our professors to use those notes at least one more time to review for examinations. But after that, we must decide whether to store them in our files or not, and if we store them, when and how often to consult them.

If the communication has been of a persuasive nature, such as much Christian communication is supposed to be, the receptor has to decide whether or not to identify with the communicator and if so whether or not to commit himself to the cause of the communicator. As I have suggested in previous chapters, the ultimate impact of Christian communication is indicated when receptors decide to identify with the communicator and to commit themselves to his cause. This is the kind of verdict we are after as Christian communicators, whether we are speaking evangelistically or attempting to bring about great growth toward maturity on the part of the receptor.

CHAPTER IV

THE POWER OF LIFE INVOLVEMENT

The topic that I want to deal with in this chapter is something that will, on the one hand, serve as an illustration of a number of things that I've said above and on the other hand, as a probe into some new areas that are important to us as Christian communicators. I'd like to suggest as texts Matthew 4:19 and John 10:11-15. In Matthew 4:19 (and Mark 2:14; Luke 5:27, etc.), Jesus says, "Come along with me." The word "follow" in many Semitic and related languages implies "come along with" or even, "commit yourself to." It is not the kind of thing that one would say to a dog to get it to follow. It is a matter of commitment. I would then like to pick out of the passage in John 10, particularly verses 11-15, the implication that not only would the Good Shepherd die for the sheep, but that the Good Shepherd would also live for the sheep. I think that is strongly implied in the whole section.

A few years ago I began to ask myself about the communicational means that we use to bring about the ends that we desire. I asked things like, what are we trying to bring about through church services? I concluded that we are trying to bring about behavioral change. That is, we want people who are so solidly influenced by our message that their behavior is radically affected. Whether it is the behavior of people who have not yet committed themselves to Christ, or the behavior of those who have already started on the road, our aim is to try to deepen and broaden their commitment.

I further asked, what kind of communication methodology is appropriate for trying to bring about that type of behavioral change? And, if monolog is not the best method for appealing for behavioral change, what is it good for? In grappling with these questions I began to develop a typolgy of approaches to communication in which I try to summarize several elements of three approaches to communication. The first approach is the monolog approach. The second is the dialog or discussion approach. The third approach is what I label "life involvement." The following chart outlines the items I discuss below.

A TYPOLOGY OF APPROACHES TO COMMUNICATION

CHARACTERISTIC	APPROACH I (Monolog)	APPROACH II (Dialog)	APPROACH III (Life Involvement)
1. METHOD OF PRESENTATION	Monolog/Lecture	Dialog/Discussion	Life Involvement
2. APPROPRIATE TYPE OF MESSAGE	General Messages	Specific to Thinking Behavior	Specific to Total Behavior
3. APPROPRIATE AUDIENCE	Large Groups	Small Groups	Individuals or Very Small Groups
4. TIME REQUIRED FOR GIVEN AMOUNT OF INFORMATION	Small Amount	Medium Amount	Large Amount
5. FORMALITY OF SITUATION	Formal Dominant	Informal Prominent	Informal Dominant
6. CHARACTER OF COMMUNICATOR	Reputation Important	Personality Characteristics Important	Total Behavior Important
7. FOCUS OF PARTICIPANTS	Source Dominant (Message)	Message Prominent (Source-Receptor)	Receptor Prominent (Source-Message)

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8. ACTIVITY OF RECEPTOR	Passive—Merely Listens	Considerable Mental Activity	Total Life Involvement
9. CONSCIOUSNESS OF MAIN MESSAGE	High (Both Source and Receptor)	Medium	Low (Perhaps Contradictory Verbal Message)
10. REINFORCEMENT AND RETENTION	Low	Medium	High
11. FEEDBACK AND ADJUSTMENT	Little Opportunity	Considerable Opportunity	Maximum Opportunity
12. DISCOVERY BY RECEPTOR	Little—Message Predigested	Considerable Discovery	Maximum Opportunity for Discovery
13. TYPE OF IDENTIFICATION	Source Identifies Primarily with Message	Reciprocal Identification with Each Other's Ideas	Reciprocal Source—Receptor Identification on Personal Level Over All of Life
14. IMPACT ON RECEPTOR	Low—Unless Felt Need Met	Potential High on Thinking	Maximum on Total Behavior
15. APPROPRIATE AIM OF APPROACH	Increase Knowledge	Influence Thinking	Influence Total Behavior

1. In the above typology the first characteristic to deal with is the method of presentation. We all know what monolog is. We experience this form of communication as the almost exclusive method used in sermons and lectures. Dialog or discussion, on the other hand, is more frequently employed in situations like Sunday School classes, Bible studies or other smaller group experiences. Many situations that look like dialog situations are, of course, merely opportunities for a leader to monolog. The leader may or may not allow serious discussion type interaction on the part of the others in the group. Such a situation would fall under the monolog column rather than under the dialog/discussion column.

The third method of presentation, here termed "life involvement," may not be as readily understandable as the first two, however. What I am thinking of here is a long term association between communicator and receptors in a variety of life situations, many of which might be quite informal and not highly dependent upon verbalization as the only means of communication. Discipleship and apprenticeship are examples of this kind of communicational method. In discipleship the teacher spends long periods of time with his disciples in a wide variety of life activity. Jesus and his disciples were together twenty-four hours a day for three years. In apprenticeship, an apprentice spends long periods of time with his teacher in a variety of work related activities.

Another illustration of life involvement communication is the family. As we grow up within our family we are life involved with our parents, with our siblings and not infrequently with a variety of other relatives, neighbors and friends. We may or may not like everything about the way we have learned to live from such life involvement, but the fact is that we have learned our lessons well. We have become very much like those with whom we have associated.

The question that I am asking concerning the method of presentation is, if we seek to bring about genuine solid, deep, behavioral change in the people to whom we try to communicate the Christian message, can it be effectively done via monolog? Jesus seldom, if ever, monologued. Is it possible He rejected this method of communication because He considered it inadequate for the purposes that He had in mind? Did he, on the other hand, choose life involvement as his method because he knew that this was the only adequate method for accomplishing his purpose? If so, could it be that we have been misled into depending heavily

upon a method that the Church has learned more from Greek orators than from Jesus?

2. In the second place I would like to ask, what type of message is appropriate to each method of presentation? Though we may note that solid behavior change seldom results from monolog presentations, we also observe that much of value can be accomplished. Perhaps, then, the problem is not so much that one method is appropriate in all contexts while the other method is never appropriate, as it is that we learn to use each method in the context in which each is most appropriate. Indeed, suppose you have a general message about which there is some urgency such as, "Your house is on fire." It would, I think, be poor advice to suggest that such a message be presented via dialog or life involvement! Monolog is the proper methd for that kind of message. Likewise for a general message such as "Two and two are four." Unless you are in the initial stages of teaching someone basic addition it is unlikely that a communicator would take the time involved to dialog that message either. News broadcasts and other presentations of a purely informational nature are also effectively presented via monolog.

If, however, your aim is to affect your receptors at a deeper level than simply the information level, it is likely that monolog will not adequately serve your purpose, unless, of course, what you present via monolog connects strongly with one or more of the felt needs of your receptors. In that case, as I have pointed out, nearly any method will work because the receptor is so anxious for the material presented that he will accept it and appropriate it no matter what form it comes in. But for situations that go beyond the mere presentation of information to receptors who do not have a strong felt need for the message, some other approach is likely to be necessary if our aim is to bring about some change in the receptor.

For this purpose we can recommend dialog as an appropriate way to seek to bring about change in the receptors' thinking behavior. Dialog, of course, is a type of life involvement. It is, however, very often quite limited with respect to time, place and the extent of the areas within the lives of the participants over which involvement takes place. But for wrestling with differences in the thinking of the participants, dialog might be quite adequate. If, however, the aim of the message is to affect the receptors' total behavior, the depth and breadth of the change brought about is quite dependent upon the ability of the receptor first to realize what is being recom-

mended and then to imitate it. And this involves what psychologists call "modeling." Though it is possible for receptors to imagine Christian models or, on occasion, to be able to recall previous experiences with such models, the most effective modeling comes from live involvement between the communicator and the receptors. In the preceding chapters I have already dealt with many of the aspects of a life involvement approach to communicating Christianity. This is, I believe, merely another way of talking about an incarnational methodology.

3. These methods differ with respect to the appropriate size of audience. With very large audiences, monolog is perhaps the only possibility. It usually does not work very well to attempt to dialog with a large group. And life involvement with very many is completely out. To some extent, of course, we are life involved even when we monolog with a large group. But this is in a very minimal way and the few things receptors learn from such life involvement with lecturers center largely around getting used to the lecturer's style, mannerisms, facial and vocal expression and the like. The general rule, then, is large groups for monolog, smaller groups for dialog, and still smaller groups for life involvement.

Could Jesus have operated in a life involvement way with more than twelve disciples? Probably not. In fact, even with dialog the numbers involved cannot be very large. Notice what happens to Sunday School classes when the attendance grows beyond, say, twenty-five to thirty. If the class continues to use a dialog format, the number on the roll may continue to rise but the attendance will usually level off at about twenty-five to thirty at most. This seems to be the optimum number for dialog in our society. If the number attending the class gets to be much larger than this, the teacher will ordinarily change to a monolog method. Almost invariable, when there are large Sunday School classes, they are conducted on a monolog basis. We don't seem to be able to handle discussion with more than a small number of peole. And with apprenticeship or discipleship, the number that can be handled is even smaller.

4. Our fourth consideration is to ask the question, given a certain amount of material to be gotten across, how much time would each method require? In a monolog format, it does not take very much time to present a fairly large amount of information. Note, however, that is it merely information, rather than something that is likely to have a greater impact on the receptor, that is being presented. I believe that our attachment

to preaching and lecturing has affected Christianity enormously at this point. By using a monolog format so exclusively, we have come to treat Christian communication as primarily the passing of large amounts of information from communicators to receptors. We have come to focus primarily on information that we should know in order to be Christians rather than on learning a life that is to be lived. I believe this is a serious distortion of the Christian message. The amount of crucial information involved in Christianity is, I believe, quite small. The amount of Christian behavior demanded in response to that information is, however, quite large. We have, however, given ourselves to a methodology that emphasizes the lesser of the two ingredients.

Be that as it may, it is clear that a monolog method is better at presenting large amounts of information, while a life involvement method is better at applying smaller amounts of information to larger areas of behavior. Dialog, then, fits somewhere in between. The amount of information that can be presented in a given amount of time via dialog is not very great, especially when campared with monolog. But it is certainly greater than is possible with life involvement.

5.   The fifth consideration is a matter of the formality of the situation. Though not all monolog situations are extremely formal, they tend to be more formal than either dialog or life involvement. Life involvement situations, on the other hand, tend to be considerably less formal than either of the other two. Dialog/discussion situations fall somewhere in between. I will not go into further detail concerning the formality of communicational situations, except to suggest that formality affects communicational impact by defining the social distance between communicator and receptors. If that social distance is perceived by the receptors to be great, that fact will affect the kind and nature of the messages at every point. Likewise, if the social distance is perceived to be small and the relationship between the communicator and receptors perceived to be intimate.

6.   In the sixth place, I would like to raise the matter of the perceived character of the communicator. In general, the greater the social distance entailed in the communicational situation, the more important the reputation of the communicator is to that situation. When deciding whether or not to attend a lecture, we are greatly concerned with whether that person has the credentials, the reputation to enable him to deal with the topic in a helpful way. Advertisements for lectures, therefore, focus strongly on the credentials of the lecturer. In

such formalized situations, there is little opportunity for the receptors to assess for themselves the overall credibility of the communicator, except as he deals with that subject in that situation. It is highly desirable, therefore, that the trust level of the audience already be high before the communicator makes his presentation.

In dialog, and especially in life involvement situations, there is much more opportunity for receptors to make their own assessment of the communicator's ability. Though it is still desireable for the communicator to be perceived as credible and trustworthy going into the communicational situation, there is much more opportunity for receptors to modify their original opinions of the communicator in more intimate communicational situations. Often, for example, receptors go away from a lecture situation with essentially the same attitude toward the speaker with which they started. In more intimate situations, however, receptors are often much more impressed with the communicator, both with respect to his subject matter and with respect to himself/herself as a person. On the other hand, students exposed to teachers over small periods of time in classroom situations are often quite impressed with their teachers as long as their exposure is limited to those formalized situations. If, however, a student gets to know his teacher in other areas of life, he may discover some things about that teacher that cause him to revise his opinion downward, even to the point is discounting the validity of the things communicated by the teacher in the classroom. This of course, quite often works the other way as well, especially with respect to teachers who might not be particularly effective in formalized classroom situations who happen to be outstanding persons overall.

7. In monolog situations, furthermore, the focus of the participants is squarely on the source, with the message also in focus but to a lesser extent. Receptors are much less in focus. The chairs are set up in such a way that everyone faces the communicator. All eyes are on the front of the room. It is expected that people will sit quietly and take all of their cues from the speaker rather than from anyone or anything else in the room

In a dialog situation, on the other hand, there is often an attempt to arrange the furniture in a circle, down playing the importance of the leader to some extent. The discussion, then, will focus on grappling with the subject by means of a lively interchange between leader and receptors. Thus the message

comes into greater prominence as do the receptors, while the prominence of the communicator diminishes a bit in comparison to his prominence in a monolog situation. In life involvement, then, it is the needs of the receptors that come strongly into focus. The activity of the communicator and the nature of the messages are bent to the meeting of the particular needs of the receptors. In Jesus' case, though he was in complete control at all times, the choice of the subjects with which he dealt and the manner in terms of which he dealt with them shows a strong primary focus on meeting the needs of his followers.

8. As I have pointed out in chapter three, receptors are not inactive. In a monolog situation, however, receptors tend to be considerably less active than in discussion and life involvement situations. When we listen to lectures or sermons, we basically just sit there. Things are going on in our minds and, at least in classroom situations, we may be taking notes. But our activity is often the more mechanical activity of simply ingesting the material as it is presented, rather than the more demanding activity of considering the material in relation to our total life experience with a view toward incorporating it into our lives. It is that kind of activity, however, that discussion and life involvement communication forces us into. This is why many people dislike more intimate communicational situations where they will be forced to answer questions or in other ways to indicate the kind of deep level interaction with the material that is going on within their minds and hearts. They consider such a process too threatening to be comfortable.

9. Given the fact that in every communicational situation there is a multiplicity of messages being sent, we ask, in the ninth place, what the level of consciousness of the main message might be in each of these approaches to communication. In a monolog situation, of course, the intention of the communicator is that the main message will be strongly in focus. And, unless he/she acts in such a way as to distract from the main message, or unless something else distracting happens while he is presenting that message it is likely that that message will be in primary focus. If, however, the communicator breaks some rules by, say, standing too close to certain of the members of his audience, or by belching during the course of his presentation or by wandering around the room during the presentation, it will be these strange things rather than the main message that will be remembered.

In discussion situations, and particularly in life involvement situations, however, the messages communicated regularly go far beyond the main message. Messages concerning the openness of the communicator, his kindness, his patience, his ability to deal with problems that he may not have anticipated, his ability to integrate the things about which he speaks into his own life, and similar messages are often strongly communicated along with the main message. Indeed, for many of the receptors the way in which the communication is dealt with becomes a more important message than the primary topic itself. Not infrequently, then, these additional messages, technically known as "paramessages," cancel out much or all of the main message. This leads, then, to responses such as, "Your life speaks so loudly, I can't hear what you're saying."

In life involvement, it is often the tone of voice or the timing of the message that indicates to the receptor that the most important message is not the one being verbalized. Often, for example, a sharp or angry response has more to do with the communicator's discomfort than with the receptor's needs. Such a situation is indicated, for example, by the reported response of a bright child when her mother told her to go to bed. Her response was, "Mommy, how come when you get tired, I have to go to bed?" The mother might well have felt that she was communicating only the "go to bed" message. But the perceptive child picked up a paramessage that was probably more accurate as an explanation of the situation than the message that the mother wanted to be in focus. In life involvement, then, what is communicated goes far beyond what might be regarded as the main message.

10. Learning is highly dependent upon what is termed "reinforcement." That is, messages that we hear once and never again tend to be crowded out by messages that we hear over and over again in a variety of ways and applied to a variety of contexts. Our tenth point is, therefore, a consideration of the opportunity for reinforcement and the consequent likelihood that the receptor will retain the messages presented via each of these approaches. The monolog approach, of course, due to such factors as the generality of the messages, the large amounts of information involved, and the small amount of interpersonal contact between communicator and receptors, provides little opportunity for the messages to be reinforced and is, therefore, likely to result in low retention on the part of the receptor. Dialog provides considerably more opportunity for reinforcement

and, therefore, much more likelihood of retention. Life involvement, then, is especially adapted to provide large amounts of reinforcement and to result in correspondingly large amounts of retention. Note, for example, what happens to reinforcement and retention when, after a lecture, the audience engages in a lively discussion with the communicator concerning certain of his points. The communicator, then, has opportunity to illustrate, to explain, and to apply certain of his points much more fully. Receptors will typically respond to such a situation by indicating that they now have a much higher level of understanding than they obtained from the lecture. If, then, a certain few of those who listened to the lecture and participated in the discussion are able to spend long periods of informal time with the lecturer, perhaps even living with him for awhile, his ability to reinforce his message and their ability to retain are increased enormously. Pastors should know that the ability of their hearers to retain messages presented in their sermons is substantially increased by visitation and other informal techniques designed to increase a life involvement relationship between themselves and their hearers.

11. Feedback and the opportunity of the communicator to adjust his message on the basis of it is of great importance in the process of communication. There is, of course, little opportunity for feedback in a monolog situation, more opportunity in a discussion situation and a maximum opportunity in a life involvement situation. An audience who perceives that the communicator has chosen the wrong message in a monolog situation may, therefore, have little opportunity to let him know in hopes that he might adjust. In a life involvement situation, on the other hand, there is maximum opportunity for the hearers to get such a message back to the communicator and a high likelihood that if the communicator does not make the proper adjustments, his audience will leave him. Indeed, the formal nature of most monolog situations is often the only thing that keeps the audience from completely dissipating.

12. All of this has great implications for the amount of discovery learning that the receptors may engage in. As I have suggested above, discovery learning is the most impactful kind and the kind that Jesus employed. Monolog, of course, emphasizes the predigestion of the message at the expense of discovery on the part of the receptors. Life involvement, on the other hand, specializes in leading the receptors to discovery. Discussion is somewhere between these two extremes. In dialog and life

involvement situations especially, and to a lesser extent in response to certain sermons and lectures, we find people saying, "Wow, I haven't thought of that before." Such comments are an indication of discovery learning. We find the disciples making comments like that throughout their experience with Jesus.

13. The primary type of identificational process is the thirteenth characteristic in our typology. In a monolog approach it seems as though the source attempts to identify primarily with his/her message and perhaps to a lesser extent with the receptors. In dialog, on the other hand, the identification seems to be more reciprocal between communicator and receptor, though often primarily at the idea level. Life involvement, then, involves reciprocal identification between source and receptor at a highly personal level and over the whole of their lives. In terms of what I have said above, concerning the importance of the receptors may be to identify with the communicator, it is easy to see the superiority of dialog and life involvement as communicational techniques. I will suggest below certain modifications that can be made in monolog presentations to overcome the more disastrous possibilities of that approach in this regard.

14. All of this leads to an assessment of the communicational impact on receptors of communication employing each of these approaches. The impact via monolog is likely to be quite low unless one or both of the following situations exist: (a) The felt needs of the receptors for the material being presented are high, or (b) the communicator makes the kind of adjustments in his presentation that I speak about below. Dialog communication, on the other hand, has high potential for impact at least on people's thinking behavior. Life involvement, then, has the potential for maximum impact on the total behavior of the receptors.

In employing sermons, lectures, or the kind of written medium that I am employing here, we count on at least certain members of our audiences coming to the situation with a need for what we are presenting. Our ability to communicate effectively to them, then, is highly dependent upon our ability to guess where their felt needs lie. Sometimes, of course, we guess very well. On other occasions, however, our guesses may be quite wide of the mark. Certain communicators, furthermore, seem to be either unconcerned or unable to guess well at any time. Others, happily, seem to be able to regularly transcend the probability factors in their ability to communicate effectively

via monolog. Some of the reasons for this may lie in the factors that I discuss below.

15.   I ask, therefore, as point fifteen, what the appropriate expectation should be in our use of these three approaches. It seems that if our aim is simply to increase the knowledge of the receptors, that monolog is the appropriate method. If, however, we seek to solidly influence the thinking of our receptors, we should use a dialog/discussion method. Influencing total behavior, however, demands much more total life involvement than either of the other methods affords. As I have mentioned before, monolog can be effectively used much like a display in a store window, to alert people to the good things that await them once they get beyond that display. Monolog is also good at bringing people to make decisions that they have been considering for a long time. Monolog can, furthermore, be usefully employed to support people in decisions that they have already made. This is probably the major function that sermonizing serves in our churches and over the mass media. Studies of the use of sermons via radio and television point out, however, that very few people who do not already agree with the communicator either listen to the presentation or have their opinions affected by them. And those who do have their opinions changed via mass media are almost always those whose felt needs predispose them to be positive toward the kind of change there advocated. Even then, however, the durability of the opinion change is highly dependent upon the continued reinforcement of a group of like-minded people. This is one of the primary functions of the church within Christianity. Monolog does, however, enable us to present large amounts of information in a relatively efficient way. The church's over-dependence on monolog has, however, as I have indicated above, led us into what I regard as a serious heresy— the heresy of regarding Christian orthodoxy as primarily a matter of correct thinking, rather than a matter of correct behavior. This has, I believe, even led many evangelicals to unconsciously advocate a kind of "salvation by knowledge" doctrine in place of what Scripture teaches—salvation by faithfulness.

Dialog, too, can be a primarily intellectual knowledge kind of thing. Even though the method may be superior communicationally, if the content is purely cognitive, we may still have botched the message that we are called to communicate. With life involvement, however, it is much more difficult to present a purely cognitive message, since the overall message presented

via this means relates so thoroughly to all of life. This method, therefore, provides a considerable corrective to the intellectualizing of the Christian message, provided our example is a properly Christian one. The contrast that I am getting at between the kinds of messages via these methods was nicely pointed out to me by an African who said, "You Euro-Americans are primarily concerned with intellectual heresy. We Africans are more concerned with interpersonal heresy." I think what he was getting at is at the heart of the Scriptural message— that the real Christian message lies in the behavior of the messenger rather than in his words. Christians who behave as Christians relate in Christian ways to other people, whether or not these people agree with them intellectually. Euro-American Christianity, however, has turned so completely to a concern for knowledge, information and doctrine, that it frequently occurs that we defend our doctrine at the expense of relating to even fellow Christians in a Christian way. It is my feeling, therefore, that even a discussion of the communicational techniques that we employ should lead us into a critical evaluation of the actual message that our receptors perceive us to be advocating.

What if One is Limited to Monolog?

Having considered all of these things with respect to the ideal way to communicate the message to which we are committed, I began to ask myself if there is anything that we can do to increase the effectiveness of our communication in situations where monolog is the only method available to us. That is, suppose I find myself in a church situation or even a classroom situation, or even worse in a situation where I must attempt to communicate via writing, can I make any adjustments that will increase the impact of my communication while minimizing the less desireable characteristics of the medium that I employ? The answer that I came to was that there is indeed much that can be done to bring our audiences to experience more of the kind of impact that characterizes dialog and life involvement communication, even when we are limited to monolog presentations. Though, for example, monolog interaction does not permit a high degree of life involvement between communicator and receptors, it is possible to increase the amount of such involvement and thereby to increase the communicational impact.

I have suggested that the above chart of approaches to communication presents us with a kind of scale with monolog

at one end of the scale and life involvement at the other end. If, therefore, we look at certain of the items on that chart, we will discover that at least certain of the characteristics of dialog and life involvement can be approximated in a monolog situation. If this is done, then, at least certain of the numbers of our audiences may be able to fill in the gaps and by imagining themselves in a full life involvement situation with us to get beyond the more crippling effects of formalized monolog.

If, for example, at point 2 on the chart, the communicator refrains from presenting simply general messages and makes his messages more specific to the actual lives of his receptors, he is likely to increase the impact of his presentation. This will, of course, mean that he will need to take more time in his presentations, dealing with a smaller amount of material (see point 4) rather than the smaller amount of time dealing with larger amounts of material that often characterizes monolog presentations. He will illustrate his points more fully and, in keeping with point 6 and much of the material presented in chapters one and two concerning identification, let his receptors hear considerably more about his own personal experience than is often done in monolg.

This will, of course, involve the reduction of the formality of the situation (point 5). Even though the method of presentation is monologic, the speaker may come across more as one who is conducting a conversation, one who is participating with his hearers not only in verbalizing, but even in other areas of life. He may, as is frequently the case in conversations, reduce his material to a single point which he wraps in true to life illustrations, many of which relate to his own personal experience. I have been exposed to one preacher who did this extremely well. He never had more than one point but he illustrated it in a variety of ways and from a variety of perspectives. Because those illustrations bring about a kind of pseudo-life involvement, we found it very easy to get wrapped up in what the speaker was communicating and to get beyond such superficial characteristics of the communicational situation as the speaker's reputation and his focus on his message (point 7). I remember feeling frequently that I and I alone was in focus. I, furthermore, found myself getting much more involved (point 8) in the application of what the speaker was saying to my own experience and the integration of his perspectives into my perspective. Jesus, of course, did this very well when he used true to life stories that we call parables.

Now, we should be warned that not all decrease of formality and increase of the personalness of the communicator automatically increases the impact of communication. Often such breaking of the rules can be taken quite badly by the receptors. Say, for example, the communicator stands on the pulpit rather than standing behind it. His receptors might take this quite badly. Or, for example, suppose the communicator is not careful about the personal things that he reveals concerning himself. He might in public reveal intimate details that are considered quite inappropriate in public and thereby seriously hinder the communication. Or, suppose he is perceived to be showing off his ability to tell clever stories rather than enhancing his message by means of these stories. His communication is likely to be seriously hindered thereby or, at least, the message that is actually communicated may be something quite different from the message that he supposedly intended. If a communicator is psychologically insecure, for example, he may latch onto some of the techniques that I am recommending as means of enhancing his own prestige rather than enhancing the communication of the message.

A further adaptation that can often be made is to increase the effectiveness of the feedback and adjustment process (point 11). Some speakers are quite effective in raising questions that the audience is generally concerned with. A speaker may say, for example, something like, "You are probably asking concerning this subject such and such a question." If he has hit on a question that his audience actually is asking, they will say to themselves, "Sure enough, I am asking that question. I wonder what he is going to say about it." So the involvement of the receptor is increased (point 8) by the communicator's setting up of a fictitious though realistic feedback situation. Or, the communicator might elicit actual feedback by asking a question that the audience will answer. This technique may be less feasible in a preaching situation, particularly on Sunday morning. However, not infrequently it is possible to raise questions that the audience can answer with a nod of the head or a shake of the head rather than verbally. Often, furthermore, it is possible for a communicator to develop a sensitivity to the feedback that his hearers send via the expressions on their faces or other gestures to such an extent that he can respond by adjusting his message on the spot. Some communicators even plant people in the audience to provide such feedback for them. Pastors wives are often good at this.

In monolog situations we may also increase the possibility of discovery (point 12). Sometimes it is a good idea for us to ask questions that we don't even intend to answer directly. In this way we may stimulate people to think about these questions and to go out and grapple with them on their own. Jesus very often did this. Sometimes, furthermore, he would answer a question with another question. Even this might be possible in certain monolog presentations. Often via a series of monolog presentations it may be possible to lead people into discovery of a new perspective. Questions relating to the adequacy of the old perspective and pointed illustrations demonstrating the greater adequacy of the new perspective can play an important part in leading people to this kind of discovery.

These techniques, and probably several others that I have not mentioned, can do much to bring about the right kind of identification between the receptor and the communicator (point 13). As I have pointed out in chapters one and two, communicational impact is directly related to the ability of the receptor to identify with the source. As I have mentioned, self-exposure on the part of the communicator is often crucial to bringing about such "reverse identification." When people in the audience can say, "He may be a preacher (or teacher, etc.), but he is just like me," the potential impact of even monolog communication can be increased enormously. Or, if a significant number of those in the audience have entered into life involvement experiences with the communicator (even, for example, on the golf course), the effectiveness of material presented via monolog can be enhanced. When the communicator is known as a human being, rather than simply a reputation (point 6), even monolog communication can be very effective because it then becomes a part of a total life involvement.

In summary, it has been my intent in this and the preceding chapters to advocate incarnational, life involvement communication as the right way to go for Christian communicators. I have attempted to develop this point from the perspective of communication theory, on the one hand, and from the example of God through Christ on the other. I have generalized to a considerable extent in order to cover a large amount of material in a fairly short presentation. I have, furthermore, employed a technique that is more like those techniques that I do not recommend than it is like those that I do recommend. I have, for the sake of getting some of these ideas across to a wider audience, employed techniques that I recognized to be less

effective than techniques that would involve person to person life involvement between myself and you as the receptors. Nevertheless, I am in hopes that the felt needs that exist within you will make it possible for at least some of this material to be useful to you.

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